

JPRS-JAR-86-016

3 NOVEMBER 1986

Japan Report



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CONTENTS

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

Liberal Democratic Party's Landslide Victory Analyzed (Takuji Masuda; SEIKAI ORAI, Sep 86)	1
Liberal Democratic Party Called 'Bureaucrats Heaven' (Shiro Noda; SEIKAI ORAI, Sep 86)	22

ECONOMIC

Nakasone Vows To Achieve 4-Percent Growth (KYODO, 18 Sep 86)	50
Nakasone, Ito Agree on Supplementary Budget (KYODO, 13 Sep 86)	52
Sumita To Reiterate Stand on Discount Rate Cut (KYODO, 24 Sep 86)	54
JETRO White Paper Suggests Technology Transfers (KYODO, 18 Sep 86)	55
Kato Defends Rice Trade Policy in Special Statement (KYODO, 11 Sep 86)	57
Briefs Monitor of Semiconductor Prices	59

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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S LANDSLIDE VICTORY ANALYZED

Tokyo SEIKAI ORAI in Japanese Sep 86 pp 20-37

[Article by Political Analyst Takuji Masuda]

[Text] Do 304 Seats Mean the Beginning of Stabilization of the Conservative?

Extremely Lucky Prime Minister

In the double elections for the Houses of Representatives and Councillors on 6 July, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) won 304 seats for the House of Representatives; this was the most incredible landslide victory in the 30 years' history of LDP, surpassing the number of seats won by any political party in the post-war general elections.

Nakasone was then nominated for the prime minister's position at the 22nd special session of the Diet. Using the momentum gained by the landslide victory, he formed the third Nakasone cabinet like a flash of lightning.

When I come to think of it, I cannot express it in any other way than to say the "political luck" of Prime Minister Nakasone is extraordinary.

It could be that his being positioned at the end of "the age of Miki-Kakuei-Ohira-Fukuda-Nakasone" reversely worked to his advantage. In the past ten years, the deep seated grudges of Kakuei vs. Fukuda, Kakuei vs. Miki, Ohira-Kakuei vs. Fukuda-Miki were sweeping the political circle; all of them were consuming their energy in maintaining their position in power, neglecting the implementation of policies, which sustained confusion.

During this period, Prime Minister Nakasone went through some severe hardships, such as being called as a witness for the Lockheed trial; yet he persisted in his humble posture and waited for his turn.

Due to the sudden death of former Prime Minister Ohira (20 June 1980), the birth of the Nakasone administration was expected and Nakasone himself was eager about it; but at that time Zenko Suzuki took the position of prime minister from him. It was due to the strong influence by former Prime Minister Tanaka.

For Mr Nakasone who finally succeeded in becoming prime minister in October 1982 after the retirement of Prime Minister Suzuki, his luck improved from that time on.

In the general election of December 1983, Prime Minister Nakasone lost as many as 36 seats; normally this would make it inevitable that he would resign from the post and take the blame for the loss. Yet the continuation of the Nakasone administration was approved for the purpose of "eliminating the influence of former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka" since there was some estrangement of successors. At that time, the LDP barely managed to maintain the majority of seats only by forming a coalition government with the New Liberal Club.

In October 1984, the Nikaido administration idea emerged due to the expiration of his first term as president of the LDP, but the idea was abandoned because of the strong opposition by the staff of the Tanaka faction, such as former Prime Minister Tanaka, Shin Kanemaru, Noboru Takeshita, and Masaharu Gotoda. Prime Minister Nakasone succeeded in reforming his cabinet with Mr Kanemaru as Secretary General.

It is said that politicians who win hard battles become strong. In the case of Prime Minister Nakasone, three months prior to the end of his second term, he dissolved the House of Representatives disregarding the opposition within the party, using the excuse of "making up for the loss of the previous general election," and held the simultaneous election with the election for the House of Councillors on the same day.

It was a big gamble of sink or swim for the prime minister, but the result was "auspicious."

The prime minister said at the press conference on the day after the formation of the cabinet, "I would like to cherish the support by the citizens being expressed in the 304 seats and work wholeheartedly," and showed his unique confidence considering the extension of his term and his succession a matter of course.

I will consider the subject of the prime minister's succession in the LDP presidency, but at first, I think it is necessary to analyze whether this ideal number to everybody, the 304 seats, is an indication that the LDP's stabilization period has come to stay.

The Nakasone Boom Is The Biggest Cause for Victory

Even Prime Minister himself clearly said at the press conference after the election, "This is not an act of human beings."

However, it is said that the prime minister expected the LDP's victory (with 290 or more seats) with Gotoda as cabinet secretariat during the survey period prior to the general election.

This could be perceived somewhat by his loquacious speech toward the end of his election campaign, "The LDP has not yet achieved a majority of the seats."

According to some source in the administration, this LDP landslide victory was the most scientific and delicately-planned "art object" among the thirty-eight general elections in the post-war era and that it was a natural result.

In other words, the general election took place under optimum conditions in terms of the support rate for the cabinet, popularity of prime minister, the opposition parties' preparations for the election, policies, and the timing of the election.

However, in elections, no matter how much scientific data are analyzed, the results of the LDP candidates supported by individual supporters' associations greatly depend on the weather of the election day and the voting rate affected by it.

We can think of many reasons for the fact that the 49.42 percent poll rate of the LDP, a rise only by 3.66 percent, brought about such a landslide victory.

Among them, the biggest reason for the victory, I think, is "the Nakasone Boom."

There have been several boom phenomena in the post-war politics: the (Ichiro) Hatoyama boom, the (Kakuei) Tanaka boom, the (Yohei) Kono boom, and the mini-political party boom, etc.

If we analyze these boom phenomena well, we can see that there is always a stifling and gloomy political condition before the boom, and most often a boom phenomenon emerges when there is a break-through made by a political figure or a party. The Nakasone administration, too, has presented reform ideas actively to citizens, one idea after another, such as the administrative reform, the education reform, and the tax reform, breaking off from the non-policy era of the administration that went on for the past ten years.

In addition, he advocated the comprehensive settlement of the post-war politics, and internationally he is eager to raise the national status of our country as a powerful member of the Western advanced nations.

Apart from its substance, the fact that he established the partnership "Ron and Yasu relationship" on an equal footing with President Reagan of the United States is an unprecedented event among Japanese prime ministers.

During the 40 years of the post-war period, Japan has seen a succession of the feminine or passive type of prime ministers come and go, but it is the first time to have the Nakasone type of prime minister who can lift up nationalistic sentiments.

In addition, his stately posture at the summit meetings and his being able to talk with the leaders of other participating countries on an equal footing make him look very good.

Furthermore, his being stylish and tall for a Japanese (176 cm) gives an impression of a "cool" politician to citizens.

We can say that these various factors triggered the "Nakasone boom."

Does the Increase in Seats Mean the Beginning of the Stabilized Conservatives?

The barometer of the popularity of Nakasone is the support rate for the cabinet in various polls. As a general tendency, it is interesting that the support rate increased after he went into his second term.

After the conviction of Kakuei Tanaka in the Lockheed case in 1983, Nakasone's move away from Tanaka started. Then, after October 1984 when he was reelected as the LDP president (the second term), he began proposing various reform ideas and the color of "the Nakasone politics" became increasingly clear.

In the result of the general election, about 50 percent of voters who voted for the mini-parties in the proportional representation system of the House of Councillors voted for LDP candidates for the House of Representatives. This proves how strong the national support for "the Nakasone LDP" is.

On the other hand, it is almost impossible to have such a landslide victory with a non-Nakasone administration, such as "the Suzuki administration" or "the Fukuda administration."

If we look at it this way, it is probably too early to conclude that the LDP's landslide victory means the beginning of the era of stable conservatism.

When Nakasone retires and one of the new leaders becomes the LDP president, it is highly possible that the LDP will again be driven into a corner of reduced power, barely maintaining the majority.

A boom usually lasts for 2 to 3 years at the least. If the LDP earnestly hopes for a "soft landing" into the era of stable conservative politics, then not only should Nakasone be allowed to stay in power for another term, but a special clause in the party regulations should be adopted to allow for a third term for the LDP presidency so that the general election can take place once again led by Prime Minister Nakasone.

There is no doubt that the LDP's landslide victory is supported by the Nakasone boom, but it is also due to prime minister's dexterity in election campaigns.

In other words, the prime minister called the three new leaders, Noboru Takeshita, Shintaro Abe and Kiichi Miyazawa before this election and encouraged them, saying. "This is an election for changing generations; victory or loss of the election depends on your work." He plunged into the election campaign with the fresh images of the three new leaders added to his own popularity.

It is natural that the four-horse carriage with the three people, whose future as prime minister is promised, and with the incumbent prime minister taking the lead should have an outstanding result in terms of the horse power compared with a one-horse carriage.

In essence, it took a of four political parties competing within a parliament called the LDP.

In the past, at the time of dissolution due to the Okinawa issue (the Sato cabinet), the LDP let the then new leaders, such as Tanaka, Fukuda, Miki, and Nakasone, compete with each other and succeeded in obtaining 300 seats including independent candidates.

This time, too, these new leaders, in preparation for their own futures, supported candidates in each constituency to gain supporters of themselves, and bolstered them in funds and organization.

It is said that former Prime Minister Tanaka encouraged candidates from his own faction, saying, "Go out and defeat your fellow LDP candidates rather than candidates of other parties." Indeed, it can be said that the power of the LDP lies in the competition within the same party.

In this election, too, there were many cases in which candidates who were associated with the new leaders had a fierce competition and as a result candidates of other parties lost, and both LDP rivals won. (Chiba Constituency 1, Akita Constituency 1, Shizuoka Constituency 1, etc.) Moreover, in this kind of constituencies, the voting rate is higher than the average.

I visited several constituencies during this election, and I saw that whenever an oratorical meeting has a new leader as its guest, 1 to 2,000 people were quickly gathered in the meeting hall and the hall was filled with enthusiasm. The audience probably feels relieved to hear the speech of support for the candidate by the new leader.

It was one characteristic of this double election that due to this kind of new leaders' efforts to expand their powers, the most important discussion on policies was less active. It can even be said that it was the LDP's strategy to equivocate policy issues.

It was fine until the opposition parties demanded from the LDP an open discussion in rounds with the LDP president, spurred by the statement made on TV about the introduction of indirect taxes by Chairman Fujio of the Policy Affairs Research Council (then).

However, the prime minister's side proposed "the league method" which was unacceptable to the opposition parties, and succeeded in avoiding the confrontation with the opposition parties. On the other hand, the prime minister even said, "there will be no introduction of indirect taxes during the Nakasone administration"; with this, the opposition parties did not know what to do with their raised fists in anger.

In other words, the fact that there were no imminent issues to be discussed during the campaign served to stir up the boom phenomenon for Prime Minister Nakasone and the new leaders through the media.

In the recent national poll on lifestyle conducted by the Prime Minister's Office, those who are satisfied with their present lifestyle exceed 70 percent. Today, 90 percent of the population consider themselves as belonging to the middle class; it even seems that conservatism in lifestyle has taken root among citizens.

For the economic giant Japan whose GNP (Gross National Product) per capita reached \$10,000, the themes for the future would be focusing the problems of "emotions" domestically; and internationally, it should be the neo-nationalistic issues that the prime minister is keen on. I think the reason why a large number of floating votes went into the LDP is because of this.

Remaining Questions After the LDP's Landslide Victory

However, through this election, it became clear that politicians' plutocratic attitudes still remain deep-rooted.

The illegal campaign conduct of the Kunio Kakuta faction of Chiba Constituency 2 and of the Shigeru Mori faction of Ibaragi Constituency 3 proves this point very well.

The number of canvassers who were arrested by the police on the charges of illegal election campaigning by the voting date reached more than 400, the highest in history.

In Chiba prefecture, where illegal conduct was outrageous as in the case of the Kakuta faction, giving cash to get people to vote for a certain candidate is called "kane o butsu (to strike money)." The average amount for one vote is said to be 3 to 5,000 yen, and for those who are registered in the roster of supporters' association, it is 10,000 yen. Truly unbelievable conduct such as throwing cash into the driver's seat in a car or in a basket attached to a bicycle took place in the open.

This is not so different from the bribery acts in a developing country, the Philippines.

We can see that Chiba Prefecture is the Mecca of plutocracy even from the past case of the large-scale bribery by Ryo Uno; but on the other hand, it is also true that a problem lies in the "underdeveloped nature" of voters in the prefecture who would not vote or participate in election campaigns without receiving money.

Bribery is never to be permitted for the reason of securing fairness and freedom of elections.

Even in terms of political ethics, many problems remain both in the leading and opposition parties.

The case of the former Diet member, Fumio Yokota, who was indicted in relation to the fuel and thread factory association scandal but defiantly ran again and lost, was a rightful result of citizen judgement.

However, the candidacy of two defendants of the Lockheed case, Kakuei Tanaka and Takayuki Sato, is also hard to understand for us citizens.

In the case of defendant Sato, the final appeal was recanted immediately after the landslide victory of the LDP and the judgement of "guilty" (with probation) became certain.

I do not know what kind of political intentions he may have had, but now that he is convicted, it is natural that he should resign from his Diet position in the viewpoint of political ethics.

However, Sato displayed a defiant attitude, saying, "I have been purified by the election." Some say that he thinks he can run for an election after three years, being cleared from the charge. Others say that he expects amnesty.

Since the defendant Tanaka was taken ill, the "weathering" of political ethics have become evident. The Political Ethics Research Council in the Diet was finally established after overcoming many obstacles as an agency with self-purifying function. Politicians must not forget that every citizen is watching the activities of the council so that it will not become an organization in name only.

Another point is that this election was the first election with the quorum correction with the increase of 8 and the decrease of 7 which was given the Diet approval shortly before the election.

In this election the quorum correction within three times difference (2.99 times) that was approved by the Supreme Court was applied; but as far as the result of the election is concerned, it was ironical that the difference of one vote exceeded three times by a wide margin.

The first runner-up in Hokkaido Constituency 1 received 135,610 votes, while the last winner in Fukushima Constituency 2 received 41,672 votes; the difference even increased.

Of course, the allocation of quorum is based on the numbers of those who are eligible to vote, but now that there is the result that the difference in votes exceeded three times, it means that by keeping the difference in the number of voters within 2.5 times, the votes difference that would satisfy the Supreme Court's suggestion (three times) can be secured.

Saburo Hara, the new speaker of the House of Representatives advocated at the press conference immediately after his inauguration, "I would like to establish a third-party organization without Diet members and examine the issue of quorum correction thoroughly."

This is truly a timely proposal. I hope this will not remain only a proposal but will be materialized immediately.

In autumn, the accurate results of the census will be made public.

There is also the agreement between the former Speaker Sakata and all parties at the ordinary session of the Diet. It must be the biggest obligation to the citizens for the new Diet to carry out the thorough quorum correction based on the accurate results.

Question the Existence of Opposition Parties Again

The results of this election, in an extreme sense, can be seen as the advent of "an age that does not need opposition parties."

In the opposition parties recently, I can see clearly the subservient attitude to the administration to gain a tiny share of the benefits, neglecting to oppose the administration / the LDP in terms of policies.

Chairman Fuha of the Japan Communist Party criticized the Japan Socialist Party, the Clean Government Party, and the Democratic Socialist party, saying, "The closer the opposition parties get to the LDP, the more it contributes to enlarge the base of the LDP."

These words contain too important a message to regard it as jealousy of the Japan Communist Party which was excluded from the opposition parties coalition.

The real reason why the existence of the opposition parties has increasingly become rarefied may be due to this.

The checking function against the administration and the LDP recently has come to be served by the anti-mainstream factions or the non-mainstream factions within the same LDP.

The pattern that all policy decisions were shaped by the checks and balances within the LDP has been going on for the last several years; the 30% seats gained in this election will probably enhance this tendency even further.

The LDP is known to be a political party with a wide spectrum of ideologies and political goals from the right to the left. In essence, it is as if the Republican Party and the Democratic Party of the United States were merged into one and made a single party.

Against the prime minister's intention for comprehensive settlement of the post-war politics, the non-mainstream factions such as the Suzuki faction and the Kawamoto faction emphasize the continuation of the post-war politics,

Nakasone strongly advocates an increased defense budget to exceed 1 percent of GNP, the spy prevention law, and public worship at the Yasukuni Shrine; then, the Suzuki faction and the Kawamoto faction maintain that "the peace-loving nation of Japan should keep the military forces only within the scope permitted by the Constitution and must strictly adhere to the ceiling of 1 percent!!" and they also oppose the spy prevention law and public worship.

In these issues, the opinions of the non-mainstream factions are no different from those of the opposition parties. In the ordinary session of the Diet

this year. What put on the brakes is the eager posture of the prime minister in the issues of ONP's 1 percent and the spy prevention law was downed even as the LDP non-mainstream factions, and the opposition parties only served as "sheep leaders" for the drives.

The LDP is the only party which is playing a baseball game; the other LDP factions always rearrange themselves as the mainstream and non-mainstream and have tournaments; the opposition parties are always spectators and they have never even once been permitted to step on the baseball field. The opposition parties cannot emerge from their position as cheerleaders even now.

In an extreme case, it is possible that the future Diet will move on to form "the Diet within the Diet" with the 304 seats occupied by the LDP.

Even in terms of policies, the opposition parties favor status-quo. The LDP, especially after Nakasone's coming to power, presented one reform idea after another for administration, JNR, education, taxes; but the opposition parties have only criticized these, not being able to present any specific policies.

It is an ironic result that the opposition parties such as the Socialist Party which was established originally with the objectives of reform or renovation are showing the most conservative attitude these days.

The Socialist Party, too, from 1960's to 1970's, more actively advocated countermeasures against the administrations' ideas on the issues of pollution and social security and carried them out.

However, recently, the LDP is more active; it has grown to be a flexible political party which is willing to incorporate into policies the issues that they used to avoid such as welfare policies.

In the national budget, too, there are hardly any cases in which the original plan was modified by advocacy of the opposition parties.

The tax reduction issue that is the common demand of the opposition parties as if it was an annual activity every time the national budget is approved by the House of Representatives Budget Committee is in essence just a pose toward citizens.

In the end they usually agree with the LDP on tax reduction in name only; we have never seen a case in which this promise has materialized.

Until now the situation has been that the leading and opposition parties were equally matched; but now that the LDP has become a giant party with 304 seats, if you think that the LDP will continue to listen to what the opposition parties say, it is wishful thinking.

The new Secretary General Takeshita of the LDP says, "We will strictly refrain from becoming overly proud because of the majority seats we have"; at any rate, it is certain that this is the beginning of a severe winter for the opposition parties.

The Socialist Party Losing Independence

In reevaluating the existence of the opposition parties, we must not overlook the big defeat of the Socialist Party (JSP) in this past election.

The JSP lost 27 seats all at once, from 130 seats down to 86 seats.

On the day of ballot counting of the double election, I interviewed Secretary General Tanabe of the JSP for a private radio commentary on the ballot counting; the secretary general said in low spirits, "The reason for the defeat is because the new JSP and its new declaration have not permeated well enough in the mind of citizens."

With the new Socialist Party declaration, the JSP under the leadership of Chairman Ishibashi decided to break off from Marxism regardless of strong opposition by the leftist faction and aimed at making a so-called historic turn.

In the readers' column of a national newspaper immediately after the general election, there was an opinion, "There is nothing that excites us in the new JSP that the old JSP has had. If they have policies that are not so much different from those by the LDP, it is better to vote for the LDP."

This kind of opinion is legitimate in its own way; but personally, I think the present course that the JSP decided to take was a right choice and I believe that in the long run they can receive the citizens' understanding.

For instance, their argument on the Self-Defense Forces' "unconstitutionality or constitutionality" is much better than the old arguments of unarmed neutrality and abolition of the U.S.-Japan security treaty, and these should be easier for citizens to accept too.

The biggest difference in the basic policy between the leading and opposition parties today is the security treaty and defense issue; and in this basic difference, it is a welcome fact that the JSP began to take a realistic path and came closer to the Democratic Socialist Party and the Clean Government Party.

The most important point is that to the subservient attitude in trying to get close to the LDP by advocating those realistic policies, the citizens' severe judgement was made at this general election.

Indeed, Chairman Ishibashi expected some post-election confusion in the LDP and made a statement toward the end of the general election campaign that suggests his intention to cooperate with Kiichi Miyazawa (finance minister)'s group, "If the LDP cannot obtain the majority seats, we would be willing to consider a coalition with a sensible group of that party."

The possibility of coalition should be a problem to think about after seeing the election results.

Therefore, as one factor contributing to the landslide victory of the LDP, there was this kind of irresponsible attitude of the JSP, which reversely brought about the strengthening of the LDP's bond.

In the general election in 1983, the JSP achieved some success by advocating a coalition idea with centrists such as the Clean Government Party.

However, this time, all opposition parties except the Japan Communist Party (JCP) devoted their energy to pleasing the LDP, and the staff members of all of them publicly made statements suggesting their wish to make a coalition with the LDP if it cannot receive the majority seats.

It is a good thing that opposition parties such as the JSP takes a realistic path in terms of policy making, but if they lose their independence and take a realistic path even in their political activity, it is a sheer stupidity.

The Sinking Ground for Labor Unions Is a Natural Course of the Age

If we look at the result of the elections for the heads of local governments, we find even less independence and many cases of the opposition parties helping the LDP.

The pattern has almost been set that parties such as the JSP, the Clean Government Party and the Democratic Socialist Party are recommending the LDP candidates for the posts of governors, mayors and ward-heads.

One reason for this may be that the JSP cannot find an appropriate candidate from their own party; however, as I mentioned before, this could help enlarge the base of the LDP; they should know that it has no advantages for the leftist parties.

The Conservative Party and the Labor Party of England or the Christian Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party of West Germany are not so different from each other as a party, but they continue to advocate the legitimacy of their policies and check any excessive conducts of the administration by the other party. In this kind of indefatigable assiduity of the two parties, citizens entrust the administration with one of them.

Another tragedy of the JSP is that the foundation of labor unions is generally crumbling.

It must have been obvious that the present way of depending totally on labor unions would eventually come to an dead end during the election.

It was Mitsuo Tomizuka (former secretary general of General Council of Trade Unions of Japan) of Kanagawa Constituency 5 who demonstrated the typical example of election totally depended on labor unions in the last general election.

His support organization, the National Railway Workers' Union, had a tightened budget due to the division and privatization of the national railway, and the union could not care less about the election campaign at that time.

I heard about one labor union member who was called to his boss one day with a suggestion about his layoff or transfer and he disappeared to somewhere in the middle of the election campaign.

Tomizuka is a typical "parachute" candidate, so he had no other choice than to carry out an election campaign totally dependent on labor unions. "Dependency on labor unions means to have a base within a local community" (said the new Council Chairman Kurokawa); but Tomizuka, who has only served two terms, had not yet reached that stage.

Toward the end of the campaign, members of the National Railway Workers' Union within Kanagawa prefecture carried out some campaigning activities, concentrating on 5 constituencies; but the result was that he lost, with 2,000 votes less than the last time.

Toshiaki Yokoyama, the former secretary general of the National Railway Workers' Union, of Aichi Constituency 1, also had a labor union dependent election campaign but it did not work out well; he lost, although he received the same number of votes as the previous election.

The National Railway Workers' Union, which Tomizuka and Yokoyama rely on, are losing its members, as much as 400,000 members in 2 to 3 years; this means the young people have come to expect very little from labor unions and labor unions have lost their appeal.

It Is Childish To Say That They Were Deceived

It is obvious that if political parties such as the JSP and the Democratic Socialist Party do not change their structures and keep depending on labor unions as the consciousness of citizens and the industrial structure change, and if they do not make efforts to respond to a wide variety of demands and expectations of 50 million people who derive their income from salaries, then they (parties) will someday become obsolete.

What is needed in these parties such as the JSP and the Democratic Socialist Party is to set as the party's main objectives the policies directly relating to everyday life as the types of policies set forth by the Salaried Men's New Party and the Tax Party.

These are the themes that should be actively dealt with by the JSP originally; but since they were neglecting this, it allowed the mini-parties to come into existence, and in the constituencies which adopted the proportional representation system, main mini-parties altogether gathered more than 4 million votes. (The Democratic Socialist Party received 3.9 million votes.)

The last point that I would like to mention in this section is that the JSP has forgotten, in the last several years, the attitude of fighting as if it were an enervated party.

There is no wonder that citizens turned away from them.

On 2 June, when the dissolution of the House of Representatives became certain, the opposition parties including the JSP were still saying things such as, "This dissolution is a surprise attack" and they did not try to do anything to take advantage of this last resort; I was startled to see this spiritless attitude of theirs.

Chairman Ishibashi said in his speech, "When I saw Prime Minister Nakasone at the end of May and I asked him 10 times about the special session of the Diet and the dissolution, every time he answered he was not thinking of doing it. Therefore, he is a liar."

However, the leader of a political party should never speak of this kind of thing in public.

Of course, many concerned citizens, not only the opposition parties, must have known the prime minister's shrewd plan of having the special session of the Diet followed by the dissolution, although they did not mean to accept the prime minister's lie.

It is childish to talk about who deceived or who were deceived.

Indeed, the activities of the opposition parties this year are so effeminate and spiritless.

In politics, in an important moment, logic cannot solve everything; only spirit can.

If they knew that the prime minister could not give up the dissolution, why didn't the opposition parties call for a non-confidence vote openly at the beginning of the special session of the Diet?

It is all right even if it is denied. If they can communicate to the whole country the faults of the Nakasone administration, they are worth being called "reliable parties."

At that time, the powers of the leading and opposition parties were about equal, so there was a possibility that some LDP members would go along with the proposal and the vote of non-confidence would be accepted.

Chairman Ishibashi was still repeatedly attacking Nakasone even after the general election began, saying, "I have never seen such a liar." But to the eyes of citizens, it does not appear to be any more than a mere bravado.

When the other side is coming on with power, you have to compete with power, too.

It can be said that lack of confidence of all the opposition parties including the JSP brought about the landslide victory of the LDP.

The Third Cabinet Without Elders

The forming of the third Nakasone cabinet by Prime Minister Nakasone who had a landslide victory was determined entirely by the initiative of the prime minister himself.

When we think about it, this decision was comparable to those of past prime ministers who demonstrated powerful leadership. At the press conference, Nakasone repeatedly emphasized "the citizens' support being expressed in the 304 seats," but the execution of politics from now on will most likely be painted entirely with the Nakasone color.

The prelude to the selection of the cabinet members was the resignation statement by Secretary General Kanemaru (present deputy prime minister).

The aim of Kanemaru, who supports generation change, was to promote uniformly the superseding the old generation with the new one within the party and the cabinet. This also aimed at getting rid of all the elders.

The resignation wish of Kanemaru can be seen as a planned action that was agreed upon with the prime minister during the general election. This can be supported by the fact that Nakasone did not look too surprised to hear the resignation wish by Kanemaru. It is a well known fact that the prime minister kept close communications with Kanemaru and Takeshita constantly in the selection of the cabinet members.

The prime minister's basic strategy in the execution of politics after the general election moved from the old balance between Abe and Takeshita to the Kanemaru - Takeshita line.

In other words, in the new selection, prime minister dared to conduct "big surgeries": (1) to form the cabinet around Kanemaru and the party around Takeshita, and (2) to sweep away completely elders such as Fukuda and Suzuki from the front.

It is a common sense to appoint someone most faithful to the prime minister to be secretary general, the most important post in the party; in this sense, Takeshita has the lowest risk among the three of rebelling against Nakasone.

Also, Takeshita is most flexible about the extension of the prime minister's term as LDP president.

In addition, Takeshita is extremely submissive to the one who appoints him, and he is "the party official" who is easiest to control for Nakasone.

Furthermore, the ground for Takeshita who appears to be succeeding the Tanaka faction is divided into the old Soseikai group and the non-Soseikai group, being at odds with each other; there is nothing more favorable to Nakasone than this situation.

Appointing Miyazawa for Finance Minister Is an Exile

At the meeting among three new leaders held at a restaurant in Chiyoda ward "Fukudaya" on 16 July, Nakasone had Takeshita propose the selection of Takeshita for Secretary General, Abe for chairman of the Executive Council, and Miyazawa for Finance Minister.

Many people think that in the relationship between Abe and Nakasone/Kanemaru some unpleasant feelings were left after the general election.

Abe announced his intention to run for the next LDP president toward the end of the general election, and publicly denounced the way the execution committee under Kanemaru was handling the official recognition problem.

It is said that Kanemaru said to his aide, "Although he may be excited because of the election, his behavior is childish," and he explicitly showed his displeasure.

The fact that the formal request to Abe to assume the post of Chairman of the Executive Council was made on the evening of the day before the forming of the cabinet indicates that the relationship between the two is cooling down.

Abe had a fierce argument with the prime minister on the next day at the forming of the cabinet regarding the treatment of Hiroshi Sanzuka (former Transportation Minister) and Masayuki Fujio (former Chairman of the Policy Affairs Research Council) of the same faction.

On the other hand, as for Miyazawa, it can be said that the distance between him and the prime minister was shortened compared to before. That is because Miyazawa, on his initiative, suddenly came closer to the prime minister which was in effect an "unconditional surrender."

Miyazawa said immediately after the landslide victory of the LDP, "This unexpected victory is due to the strong leadership of Nakasone. From now on, he can do whatever he wants to do."

I will discuss this more in detail later, but this shows the weakness of Miyazawa and poses a question as to his qualification as a candidate for the LDP president.

The prime minister who saw such an attitude of Miyazawa, after playing (golf) at "Three Hundreds" on Sunday, the 20th, invited Miyazawa to somewhere and requested that he assume the post of Finance Minister.

Miyazawa, who is a supporter of an active economy, took back his usual opinion so easily and agreed to take care of the mess of the Nakasone's tight public finance.

The post of finance minister has been different from other ministers since the pre-war period, in that in it the financial policy of the minister was respected.

Prime Minister Nakasone's real intention is to pass on to Miyazawa the thorough tax reform with the possibility of a tax increase that will be proposed in autumn by the Tax Reform Investigation Committee.

One interpretation is that the most difficult problem of a tax increase by indirect taxes that Prime Minister and Takeshita do not want to be involved in was passed on to Miyazawa and the possibility of Miyazawa's candidacy for the LDP president was taken away; in short, he was pushed into an "exile" condition.

Many Problems Seen in Use of Ministers

The climax of Nakasone's selection of the cabinet members was the "discharge of Nikaïdo" which is said to be the idea conceived by the three, including Kanemaru and Takeshita.

This is a kind of court coup d'etat. It is similar to the way the Gorbachev administration of the Soviet Union shelved up or discharged elder politicians.

The prime minister said in an informal chat after the press conference, "If the mice keep interfering, the new leaders cannot work efficiently." This must be his real intention.

Certainly, as a result of the double election, the power of the elders swiftly began to decrease.

If former Prime Minister Fukuda turned over the leadership of his faction to Abe and if Suzuki did the same to Miyazawa, then the age of elders would completely come to an end.

The only one left would be Nikaïdo. The intention of the three, Nakasone, Kanemaru, and Takeshita, toward Nikaïdo may be different but they all agree 100 percent in that he should be banished.

It is said that Prime Minister Nakasone can never forget the nightmare of the Nikaïdo administration plan of three years ago.

After that, he tried so many times to discharge Nikaïdo from the post of vice president of the LDP, but since Tanaka was behind Nikaïdo, he could not succeed while Tanaka was still healthy.

Now that Tanaka is not around, there is no better chance than now.

For Kanemaru and Takeshita who want to complete the change from the Tanaka faction to the Takeshita faction, discharging Nikaïdo from all positions is a welcome outcome.

It is obvious that when he is not assuming any position, although he is the head of the Tanaka faction, his power within the party will swiftly decrease. Moreover, since he is old (he will be 77 in October), it is a matter of time before he retires from the frontline.

After there was a complete unity in the interests of the three, Nakasone requested that Nikaide assume the post of chairman, and then foreign minister, both of which he declined; then Nakasone discharged him from the post of vice president.

He finally succeeded in banishing him completely from the front line by giving him the supreme advisor's position which is in effect a retirement post.

By this, the combined forces of Nakasone, Kanemaru and Takeshita succeeded in winning a perfect game in the selection of the cabinet members, following the success of the general election.

In the new cabinet, the Tanaka faction increased to 8 posts from 6, and the Nakasone faction, 4 posts from 3, while the Abe faction decreased from 4 posts to 3, the Abe faction, from 4 posts to 3, the Komoto faction, from 3 posts to one, and the non-faction received one post. It turned out that the Tanaka and Nakasone factions took one post from each of the other three factions.

In terms of specific posts, all the important posts excluding that of finance minister were assigned to members of the Tanaka and Nakasone factions, and less important posts were allocated to other factions.

Although it is called the practical cabinet, we cannot readily say that it is the right selection of the right people, since many of the people who were selected are those who are adept in their fields but have not served the post of minister recently or those whose appointment to the post of minister was delayed due to their long-time association with the neutral faction.

It does not seem to be as fancy and powerful cabinet as the previous one.

Furthermore, since several cabinet members are the ones about whom there are some bad rumors in relation to political ethics, I am somewhat worried.

New Development in Nakasone's Succession

Now that we have come thus far, if I do not mention about the issue of Nakasone's succession of the LDP presidency, I may be blamed for my irresponsibility in considering the implication of the 304 seats.

To be sure, judging from the selection of the new cabinet members and the party staff, I wouldn't be surprised if one-half to one year of extension of his term as the LDP president was proposed. As I mentioned at the beginning, the prime minister repeatedly said, "I would like to cherish the citizens support which was expressed in the 304 seats."

I sensed, at the time when the result of 304 seats became certain, that the extension of his term at least until the end of next year's ordinary session of the Diet was determined.

During the radio interview that I mentioned earlier, I asked Secretary General Kanemaru (then), "Now that the situation turned out to be like this, how about extension of his term, or even making an exception to the regulation and elect

Nakasone for the third time?" However, his answer was an unexpected one: "I wouldn't welcome such a talk about extension from the prime minister himself, but if the party wishes those things (extension or reelection for the third time), that would be fine."

It is safe to say that Kanemaru's intention was already firmly fixed in favor of the extension of his term, when the figure 304 came out.

The issue of the extension of his term was first raised in the press and Japan specialists abroad. A telegram congratulating Prime Minister was immediately delivered from President Reagan.

At home, too, the opinion favoring the extension such as "The result of the general election is heavier than the party regulation forbidding the third reelection" is heard from various fields including the financial circle.

The first one to mention this within the LDP was Gen Tamura (Minister of International Trade and Industry), who is serving as Chairman of the Basic Problem Research Committee.

Tamura said, "Now that we had such a landslide victory, we should keep Nakasone as president in order to solve pending problems."

The Tamura statement could be regarded as his attempt to obtain a cabinet post right before the forming of the new cabinet; yet it cannot be denied that it represented the atmosphere within the party to favor the extension of his term.

The three new leaders also agreed at the meeting on the 16th that at least until the pending issues are settled, the extension of his term should be allowed.

Regarding whether the pending problems are limited only to the National Railway or they should include other issues, there seemed to be some disagreement among Takeshita, Abe and Miyazawa.

As far as I asked several leading Diet members from each of the LDP factions regarding the extension issue, all except one answered "It would be difficult to limit only to National Railway," although there were some differences in nuance.

Indeed, there is actually no limit to pending problems that the prime minister will tackle in the future.

For now, he must pass the reform bills (eight of them) for the division and privatization of the National Railway in the special session of the Diet which will be convened in September; but if he faces a strong resistance from the opposition parties including the JSP and the JCP, it is possible that the bills will not pass until the end of this year or even the ordinary session of the Diet next year.

Simultaneously, the issues of how to cope with the overvalued yen and the U.S.-Japan trade friction must be tackled. In October, the administration's tax reform investigation committee plans to submit the report for a thorough tax reform. Furthermore, as for the education reform, the third report is to be presented in May or June next year.

In foreign policy, there is Japan-Soviet diplomacy, and the Italy summit is planned for next June. However, it makes more sense to think that the figure 304 indicates that people support the three reforms on the National Railway, the tax system, and education, which is the comprehensive settlement of the post-war period advocated by Prime Minister and demand that these projects be completed by the responsibility of Prime Minister himself.

If we look at the members of the new cabinet, it is possible to see the selection of Transportation Minister Hashimoto, Finance Minister Miyazawa, Minister of International Trade and Industry Tamura, Minister of Education Fujio as a structure especially for tackling those three biggest pending issues.

This makes it the "workman-like" cabinet, too.

Originally There Should Be No Tenure For President

At any rate, it is necessary to think about the problem of term extension in a serious manner. Originally, the term for the LDP president or Prime Minister was determined at the same time as the establishment of the LDP in 1955; since the establishment of the cabinet in the 18th year of the Meiji period to the merger of the conservative parties in 1955, no specific tenure had been defined.

Of course, in the pre-war period, an elder statesman would recommend a candidate for Prime Minister to the Emperor, and he was appointed by the Emperor; and he did not have to resign unless there were some failures or sudden death (assassination, etc). When the prime minister resigned, it was by his own will.

The tenure for presidency is something like concentrated jealousy within the LDP; it is only a selfish logic of those who are aiming at becoming the president and prime minister in the near future and their followers.

Originally, the extension of tenure is something that the leading party should "ask" the prime minister.

However, the present argument on the tenure extension is: "Originally, he should retire after the tenure is filled, however, since he has the support from citizens and he will not be satisfied to have to resign now, we will let him stay in office for a little longer." In other words, it is a service spirit.

However, there is a problem in that there is no voice within the party such as "Even if Prime Minister refuses it, we should ask him to stay in office somehow."

Getting to the bottom of the matter, this is a problem that relates to the personality and moral influence of the prime minister.

At the background of the new leaders opinions and attempts to set a time limit on the tenure extension, there is a passive argument favoring the extension, such as "Since the LDP had such a landslide victory, let him serve one more term."

However, it is not a proper thing to set a term for a prime minister in advance. It is like a patient whose illness was diagnosed as cancer; from that time on, it will become "a dying cabinet."

Prime Minister Nakasone should stay humble and make every effort to carry out his policies every day, without being overly proud because of the 304 seats. And if an argument which supports the tenure extension without a time limit does not appear, he should gracefully resign at the expiration of the term at the end of October, no matter what kind of climax the National Railway bills are going through.

If he clings to power ungallantly, he would show his disgraceful act to the world, just as the end of the Yoshida and Sato administrations.

Takeshita Is The Most Likely Candidate For the Post After Nakasone

Lastly, I will briefly mention about who comes after Nakasone.

The person who is closest to succeed the Nakasone administration today is Takeshita. Takeshita's strategy is first to try to make the enemy (Prime Minister Nakasone) fully obligated, and then wait for the enemy's move.

About 100 persons in the Tanaka faction, as the result of this double election, are always ready to participate in the "Takeshita faction."

In addition to that, by the "banishment" of Nikaide, the head of that faction, from the LDP staff, this tendency has been further strengthened. One of the aides of Takeshita that I met recently was saying, "We will realize the official establishment of the Takeshita faction by autumn." Takeshita will sooner or later pressure Nikaide to step down from the head of the Tanaka faction to make room for him, on the basis of the reversal of power relationship within the faction. This is the same case as when former Prime Minister Ohira demanded to former Chairman Maeno to step down from the head of the Kochikai group. If Nikaide steadfastly clings on to the post of the head, the official establishment of the Takeshita faction will become inevitable.

The folksong that Takeshita often sings recently is "Mr Takeshita for next year," "Next autumn is for Mr Takeshita."

Takeshita's basic strategy is to support the prime minister for a little while and wait for an opportunity to take over the administration; but he is not a type who will overstrain himself.

In the case of Miyazawa, since he was appointed as the most important cabinet position, he will not be able to make any move for at least one year. It is certain that in the Kochikai seminar in September the position of the faction head will be handed down from Suzuki, but whether he will run for the LDP presidency is subtle. In the case of Miyazawa, it is also a competition with his own age (67 years old), but with the relative reduction of reliable elders for him, most people think his chance of coming to power has become more slim than before.

In the case of Abe, he is gradually becoming isolated, since Nakasone has completely sided with Kanemaru and Takeshita from the general election. Since he is a supporter of the short extension of the tenure argument, his response after autumn is interesting to note; however, in the future, there is a possibility that he may move from the mainstream faction to a non-mainstream faction.

As in the case of Miyazawa, the road to power is long for him too.

Abe has been a candidate for the LDP president since 1982; there is danger that he might fall into the trap of being a permanent presidential candidate.

At any rate, the impact of the unexpected landslide victory of 304 seats has had on the political situation is unfathomable.

It is certain that the opposition parties and the new leaders now have to repaint the entire political map that they had been painting before the election.

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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY CALLED 'BUREAUCRATS HEAVEN'

Tokyo SEIKAI ORAI in Japanese Sep 86 pp 38-52

[Article by Shiro Noda, a free-lance writer]

[Text] LDP--Now a Heaven for Bureaucrats

The outcome of the 6 July combined elections for both houses of the Diet was unquestionably an overwhelming victory for LDP. To those of LDP, the victory was so lopsided that they could not stop laughing--the outcome simply could not have been any better in all respects.

LDP won 304 seats in the Lower House and 67 seats in the Upper House. As a result, all LDP factions gained strength. In the Lower House, the factioned line-ups became as follows: The strength of the Tanaka faction, the largest one of all, increased from 65 seats to 87 seats, surpassing the strength of JSP, the second largest political party; the Nakasone faction grew from 48 seats to 60 seats, elevating itself to the position of being the second largest faction; the Suzuki faction grew from 51 seats to 59 seats; the Abe faction, the leadership of which used to belong to former Prime Minister Fukuda, grew from 46 seats to 56 seats; the Komoto faction picked up 1 more seat to reach 28 seats in total; and those who do not belong to any faction now number 14.

The factional breakdown of the LDP's combined strength at both houses is now as follows: the Tanaka faction 142 seats, the Nakasone faction 84 seats, the Suzuki faction 88 seats, the Abe faction 83 seats, the Komoto faction 34 seats, and the nonaffiliated 16 seats.

"The same-day elections for both houses of the Diet increased the voter turnout rate and, amid the overall trends toward conservatism, LDP was able to absorb all the floating conservative votes."

"Labor unions, the primary source of the support for JSP and the Democratic Socialist Party, are showing the signs of declining leadership, and the trends of desertion from the socialist camp have become conspicuous among union members themselves."

These are the general views among the experts (political commentators) regarding the LDP's landslide victory.

One noteworthy aspect of the LDP's sweeping victory is how well the bureaucrats-turned-politicians have done in these elections: the victorious LDP candidates who fall into this category include nearly all incumbents who sought reelections, four former members of the Diet who sought to return and seven new faces.

With the outcome of the latest elections, LDP now has 75 members in the Lower House who are of bureaucratic origin: of them, 64 are incumbents reelected, 4 are former members of the Diet who won comeback victories and 7 are new faces. In the Upper House, LDP now has 52 members with such background (of them, 18 are proportional representatives and 34 are from electoral districts).

Of the 304 LDP members holding Lower House seats, about one-fourth are ex-bureaucrats; in the Upper House, the ratio of ex-bureaucrats among the LDP members is more than 35 percent or 51 [as stated in the text: 52 is the number given above] out of 143.

Of this significant number of ex-bureaucrats making inroads into the Diet, most numerous are those with the Finance Ministry background. In the July elections, 29 of them ran for the Lower House, 23 emerged victorious and the remaining 6, all of whom ran as independents because they were unable to secure official endorsement of LDP, failed to win. On the Upper House side, 3 such individuals scored victories--1 from the proportional district, 2 from electoral districts. In addition, there are 3 more such individuals holding Upper House seats that were not up for reelection this time. In all, there are now 29 ex-officials of the Finance Ministry holding seats in the Diet, both houses combined. Besides, another seat in the Upper House is occupied by an ex-official of the Economic Planning Agency.

The next largest group is consisted of those who had served with the Ministry of Home Affairs. In the last elections, 11 of them--all incumbents--ran for the Lower House and were victorious. In the Upper House races, 1 such individual won as proportional representative and 2 others won from electoral districts. In addition, there are 3 more such individuals in the Upper House, whose seats were not up for reelection this time.

The strength of the Home Affairs bureaucrats in terms of close ties with local areas is reflected in the election results.

Next to the Finance and Home Affairs groups come the MITI bureaucrats. In the last elections, 12 individuals of this background--7 incumbents and 1 former member of the Diet plus 4 new faces--ran for the Lower House; of them, 8 came out victorious--6 incumbents, 1 former member and 1 new face. There are no ex-MITI bureaucrats among the Upper House members. As for ex-officials of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, 7 of them--4 incumbents, 1 former member of the Diet and 2 new faces--ran for the Lower House in the

last elections, and 6 of them--all except 1 new face--were elected. On the Upper House side, 2 such individuals got elected as proportional representatives and 2 more from electoral districts. In addition, 4 more ex-bureaucrats of this category hold seats in the Upper House--1 proportional representative and 3 from electoral districts--that were not up for reelection this time. This makes the total in the Upper House 8.

A striking development of recent origin has been the successful advancement into the world of politics by ex-officials of the Justice Ministry and the National Police Agency. There are now six such individuals holding seats in the Lower House. In the last elections for the Upper House, two new faces of this background were elected--one proportional representative and one from electoral district. In addition, there are two more members of the Upper House who belong to this group, whose seats were not up for reelection this time--one of them is proportional representative, the other is from an electoral district. In all, this group holds four seats in the Upper House.

The fact that a significant number of LDP members of the Diet are ex-government officials is a graphic evidence of the strength of ex-bureaucrats who run for elected offices. It does not seem like an exaggeration to say that LDP has now become a heaven for bureaucrats.

As to the reasons for the election strength of ex-bureaucrats, there are different ways of looking at the matter. But to put it bluntly, the strength of the ex-Finance Ministry type is the power of those who had held the nation's "finances" in their hands; the strength of the ex-Home Affairs type is the strength of those with connections to local self-governing bodies and close association with local areas; and the strength of ex-officials of MITI and the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries is the strength of their connections extending to the far corners of the country.

Supremacy of Ex-officials of Finance Ministry

A large number of ex-officials of the Finance Ministry ran in the latest combined elections for both houses of the Diet--some of them were incumbents running for reelection, some had formerly served in the Diet, and some were new faces running for the first time. Altogether 29 such candidates ran for the Lower House: of them, 17 were incumbents, 3 were former members and 9 were new faces (1 of them was a member of the Upper House switching to the Lower House). In the Upper House races, 3 such candidates ran: 1 as a proportional representative; 2 from electoral districts--one of these was an incumbent running for reelection, the other was a new face.

The 17 incumbent members of the Lower House who ran for reelection were as follows:

<u>Electoral District</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Finance Ministry Background</u>
Aomori 1st	Yuji Tsuchima	Chief of Corporate Division, National Tax Administration Agency
Yamagata 1st	Tetsuo Kondo	Assistant to the Japanese director on the board of World Bank; Assistant chief of Research Division, Minister's Secretariat
Gunma 3d	Takeo Fukuda	Director of Budget Bureau
Saitama 1st	Takujiro Hamada	Chief examiner, Budget Bureau
Tokyo 6th	Koji Kakizawa	Councillor, Minister's Secretariat
Kanagawa 4th	Ichiro Sato	Vice Minister of Finance
Niigata 3d	Tatsuo Murayama	Director of Tax Bureau
Nagano 3d	Sohei Miyashita	Director, Tokyo Customs House
All Shiga District	Ganri Yamashita	Director, Hiroshima Regional Tax Administration Bureau
Wakayama 2d	Chikara Higashi	Minister's Secretary
Kyoto 1st	Bunmei Ibuki	Chief at Treasury Division
All Tottori District	Hideo Aizawa	Vice Minister of Finance
Hiroshima 2d	Yukihiko Ikeda	Secretary to Prime Minister Ohira
Hiroshima 3d	Kiichi Miyazawa	Secretary to Finance Minister Ikeda
Ehime 1st	Jun Shiozaki	Director of Tax Bureau
Kumamoto 1st	Takeshi Noda	Assistant division chief
Kumamoto 2d	Joji Fukushima	Counselor, Minister's Secretariat

All 17 listed above were elected.

The three former members of the Lower House who emerged successful in their comeback efforts were as follows:

<u>Electoral District</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Finance Ministry Background</u>
Tokyo 3d	Michio Ochi	Chief of Investigation Division, Budget Bureau
Shizuoka 3d	Hakuten Yanagisawa	Secretary to Chief Cabinet Secretary
Miyazaki 1st	Ichizo Ohara	Counselor, Minister's Secretariat

Of the new faces, the following three ran with official endorsement of LDP:

<u>Electoral District</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Finance Ministry Background</u>
Tokyo 2d	(Shokei) Arai	Assistant chief of General Affairs Division; Banking Bureau; Secretary to Finance Minister
Kagawa 2d	[Koto] Ono	Planning officer, Minister's Secretariat
Miyazaki 2d	Nariaki Nakayama	Planning officer, Minister's Secretariat

The Upper House member who in mid-stream decided to switch to the Lower House was Hirohisa Fujii (budgeting officer, Budget Bureau) from Kanagawa 3d District. The following five new faces ran as independents because they had failed to secure LDP's endorsement:

<u>Electoral District</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Finance Ministry Background</u>
Niigata 4th	Kaoru Miyakoshi	Chief examiner, Budget Bureau; Member, Nakasone faction
Hyogo 1st	Ichizo Miyamoto	Director, Nagoya Regional Tax Administration Bureau; Member, Suzuki faction
Wakayama 2d	Minoru Noda	Councillor; member of Fukuda faction
All Saga District	Takanori Sakai	Planning officer, Minister's Secretariat; member of Fukuda faction
Kagawa 1st	Mitsuhiro Manabe	Director of Financial Department, Kinki Regional Finance Bureau; member of Suzuki faction

Party's official endorsement, or lack thereof, was the deciding factor for the fate of these new faces--all youngish, elite ex-bureaucrats from the Finance Ministry.

The ones blessed with endorsement--namely Arai, Ono and Nakayama--hit the bull's eye and scored their first election victories. On the other hand, the mid-stream switcher Fujii, to whom the party's endorsement was late in coming, and all five who ran as independents have suffered the misfortune of losing their races.

Even for those three victorious new faces, this was not the first time they tried: for Arai and Nakayama, it was their second attempt; Ono had previously run in the gubernatorial race of Kagawa Prefecture. Likewise, for unsuccessful candidates Miyamoto and Manabe, too, it was their second attempt.

On the Upper House side of elections, Ichihiro Hatoyama (vice minister of finance), who ranked first among the proportional representatives, was a winner even before the ballots were counted. In electoral-district races, Kanzo Tanigawa (director, Customs and Tariff Bureau) in the all-Kochi prefectural district and new-face Sachihiro Fukuda (director, National Tax Administration Agency) in Fukuoka electoral district won easy victories becoming of their respective stature.

In addition, there are three more members of the Upper House with Finance Ministry background whose seats were not up for reelection this time around. They are as follows:

<u>Electoral District</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Finance Ministry Background</u>
Iwate	Michiyuki Isurugi	Director, Tokai Regional Finance Bureau
Nagano	Shiniehiro Shimojo	Director General, National Tax Administration Agency
Ishikawa	Hitoshi Shimasaki	Counselor, Minister's Secretariat

Incidentally, Ichiro Nakanishi, an ex-official of the Economic Planning Agency (director of the National Life Bureau), won the Upper House race in the Hyogo electoral district for the fourth consecutive time.

Three Former Prime Ministers

Three of the Finance Ministry alumni have made it to the summit--the LDP presidency and the prime ministership. They are Hayato Ikeda (deceased), Takeo Fukuda and Masayoshi Ohira (deceased).

The dominant view is that the Finance Ministry alumni are the cream of the crop among the bureaucrats-turned-politicians. Not surprisingly there are many among the Diet members with Finance Ministry background who have served as cabinet ministers.

Kiichi Miyazawa is one of the three new leaders of LDP. He was made finance minister in the third Nakasone Cabinet which was formed recently. He had previously held such cabinet portfolios as director general of the Economic Planning Agency, minister of international trade and industry, minister of foreign affairs and chief cabinet secretary. He has also served as chairman of the LDP's executive board. He is acting chairman of Kochi Kai [aka Suzuki faction].

Tatsuo Murayama is a nine-term member of the Lower House. He has served as minister of health and welfare and finance minister.

Ichiro Sato won his seat in the Upper House in a special election of 1967. It did not take too long before he was picked for the portfolio of economic planning director on the third Sato Cabinet.

Ganri Yamashita, the nucleus of the non-Sosei Kai [Creative Political Society] within the Tanaka faction, received high marks for his performance as director general of the Defense Agency.

Jun Shiozaki served as director general of the Economic Planning Agency on the first Nakasone Cabinet.

Tetsuo Kondo was picked from the Komoto faction to serve as director general of the Economic Planning Agency on the recently-formed third Nakasone Cabinet.

Among the Upper House members, Ichiro Hatoyama was picked for the post of foreign minister on the Fukuda Cabinet.

The rule of thumb is that to be considered for a cabinet post one has to be a seven-time winner of a Lower House seat. It is for this reason that Hideo Aizawa, a five-time winner, has yet to be given a cabinet post although he has already served as a vice minister.

This apparently is a contributing factor to the prevailing feeling within the Finance Ministry that "it is too late if one waited until he has become a senior bureaucrat before getting into the political arena because the cabinet post is hard to come by and one is liable to become too old while waiting for his turn and end up depriving himself of the opportunity." Based on this thinking, more and more young, elite bureaucrats in the Finance Ministry are throwing away their dream of "eventually becoming a bureau director or a vice minister" in order to make an early start in the political world.

The case of Koji Kakizawa is said to have served as a strong stimulant for youngish bureaucrats of the Finance Ministry to take a plunge into politics. "The bureaucrats of the Finance Ministry are gutter rats!" or, more precisely, "The Finance Ministry bureaucrats laboring at Kasumigaseki 3-chome are a bunch of dreadful, frustrated elitists known as bespectacled gutter rats!" After making these explosive statements, Kakizawa resigned himself from the Finance Ministry, ran in the July 1977 Upper House election (from Tokyo local district) with official endorsement of the New Liberal Club (Yohei Kono, representative) and won himself a brilliant victory.

Spurred by the example set by Kakizawa, in the Lower House elections of October 1979, young bureaucrats of the Finance Ministry announced their candidacy--one after another. They were: Takujiro Hamada, Takao Yanagisawa, Nobuhiko Masuda (formerly Nobuhiko Michimasa; married into the family of Kaneshichi Masuda; counselor, Minister's Secretariat), Sohei Miyashita, and Yoshio Akiyoshi (deputy director general, Hokkaido Development Agency).

Of them, only Sohei Miyashita won the victory on his first try. But in the same-day elections for both houses of the Diet held in June 1980, two more of them--Hamada and Yanagisawa--won. Also won were Hajime Morita, who became the substitute candidate following the sudden death of then Prime Minister Ohira in the middle of the campaign, and Koji Kakizawa who decided to switch from the Upper House. In all, four more young ex-officials of the Finance Ministry thus won the seats in the Lower House.

Nursing the Constituency Bearing Fruit

In the general elections of December 1983, the following six ex-officials of the Finance Ministry ran for the Diet for the first time: Shokei Arai, Bunmei Ibuki, Chikara Higashi, Nariaki Nakayama, Ichizo Miyamoto and Mitsuhiro Manabe. Of them, only two--Ibuki and Hizashi--won; the rest met their Waterloo.

Arai, Nakayama, Miyamoto and Manabe--the losing foursome--spent the next 2 1/2 years for cultivating and nursing their constituencies in preparation for their second chances, which arrived in July 1986. But for the July elections LDP tightened up the number of its officially-endorsed candidates in order to prevent too many candidates running against each other--LDP viewed "winning an absolute majority" as a categorical imperative. As a result, only Arai and Nakayama plus Koto Ono, who had inherited the constituency of the party elder Tsunetaro Kato, were blessed with the party's official endorsement. Miyamoto and Manabe, having been left out of official endorsement, ran as independents. Also unable to secure the party's official endorsement were Kaoru Miyakoshi, Takanori Sakai and Minoru Noda, who nevertheless ran with the backing of their respective faction in their first try for the Diet seat. In addition, Hirohisa Fujii, who had decided to switch from the Upper House to the Lower House, put himself up as a candidate in a tough constituency (Kanagawa 3d District) despite his failure to be included in the first-round officially-endorsed candidate list of the party.

"Callous" are the voters! They turned out to be negative in their verdicts on all those who ran as independents.

Three rookie-winners emerged from the July elections: Arai, Nakayama and Ono. In the case of Arai, his victory was achieved in the Tokyo 2d District, Tokyo's only close district for minority parties, crowded with big-shot candidates representing all parties. The lineup included such prominent figures as LDP's Shintaro Ishihara, JSP's Tetsu Ueda, Komei Party's Yasuo Suzukiri, Democratic Socialist Party's Keigo Ouchi and JCP's Masuhide Okazaki. Being elected from this constituency on his second try by defeating Democratic Socialist Party's Secretary General Keigo Ouchi was a splendid achievement for Arai.

There is a constituency-rousing approach known in some quarters as "hamataku style." Under this approach, supporters associations are organized not only in the shopping district but also within business firms and neighborhood groups as a means to increase the ranks of supporters. Arai probably did not intentionally try to duplicate this approach, but in effect that was what he did in the Tokyo 2d District.

Of those who lost the races, Miyakoshi of the Niigata 4th District ended up as the second runner-up by a margin of 20,000 votes from the lower-ranking winner. Noda of the Wakayama 2d District was the runner-up by a margin of only 7,000 votes from the lower-ranking winner. Manabe of the Kagawa 1st District was the second runner-up as well by a margin of some 7,500 votes from the lower-ranking winner; the number of votes he received this way was considerably larger than his first time. Sakai of the all-Saga prefectural district was the runner-up with a margin of 23,000 votes. Miyamoto in the Hyogo 2d District was the second runner-up by a margin of 30,000 votes. Fujii of the Kanagawa 3d District was the runner-up; the margin of votes in his case was 25,000.

Miyamoto's Hyogo 2d District and Fujii's Kanagawa 3d District are difficult constituencies for new faces to run.

On the other hand, others such as Noda and Manabe are, according to expert sources, still hopeful depending on how they handle the task of expanding and strengthening their constituencies from here on. One should remember in this connection the case of Ichiro Sato--a politician much senior to all of these new faces, who had to bide his time for 5 long years and then some when he decided to switch from the Upper House to the Lower House but he finally won the Lower House seat from the Kanagawa 4th District.

On the latest cabinet reshuffle, Tetsuo Kondo, one of the ex-officials of the Finance Ministry, was appointed director general of the Economic Planning Agency on the third Nakasone Cabinet.

After each new round of elections, the age level of those LDP members of the Diet with the Finance Ministry background seems to grow younger. Incidentally, there is a non-LDP member of the Lower House who is an ex-official of the Finance Ministry: he is Democratic Socialist Party's Motoo Abe (counselor, Minister's Secretariat), a two-term winner from the Shizuoka 3d District.

Strength of Ex-officials of Home Affairs Ministry

Among the bureaucrats-turned-politicians in the Diet, the second largest group next to those of the Finance Ministry origin comes from the Ministry of Home Affairs. The strength of those who belong to this group is based on their solid connections with local self-governing bodies throughout the country--1 Do, 1 To, 2 Fu's and 43 prefectures. These connections are not only vertical but horizontal as well--they form a pyramidal pattern of ideal nature.

Ex-officials of the Home Affairs Ministry who ran in the latest combined elections for the Diet numbered 11 for the Lower House and 3 for the Upper House (1 proportional representative and 2 from electoral districts). Amazingly, all of them emerged victorious.

Most of these men came into the world of politics standing on their record of steady performances as heads of local governments or departmental chiefs of their home prefectural governments. Some had distinguished themselves as senior bureaucrats of the Ministry of Home Affairs before entering into national politics.

Iwao Kuto started out as a school teacher in Tokyo; he then joined the Iwate prefectural government and served as the chief of its education and planning departments; in 1969 he was elected mayor of Morioka City, from which he subsequently ran for the Lower House of the Diet.

The 11 victorious candidates for the Lower House were as follows:

<u>Electoral District</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Home Affairs Background</u>
Iwate 1st	Iwao Kudo	Chief of the prefectural education and planning departments; Mayor of Morioka City
Chiba 4th	Taketo Tomono	Chief of General Affairs Department, Chiba Prefecture; Governor of Chiba Prefecture
Toyama 2d	Seiichi Kataoka	Chief of Economic Department, Aomori Prefecture; Mayor of Tonami City
Aichi 5th	Keijiro Murata	Chief, Department of Water Supply and Construction, Aichi Prefecture
Osaka 1st	Hiroshi Yukawa	Chief of Planning Bureau and deputy government Osaka-Fu
All-Nara prefectural	Seisuke Ukuno	Vice minister of Home Affairs
All-Tottori Prefectural	Kozo Hirabayashi	Governor of Tottori Prefecture
Okayama 1st	Joji Omura	Chief of Local Finance Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs
Ehime 2d	Kiyoshi Mori	Chief of General Affairs Division, Ministry of Home Affairs; Superintendent, Fire Defense Academy
Oita 2d	Bunsei Sato	Chief, prefectural education department
Nagasaki 1st	Tadashi Kuranari	Chief, prefectural farmland, agriculture and forestry department

Taketo Tomono tackled for 12 years with the prefectural administration of Chiba as its governor; he is well-known as "the Tomono of the Chiba prefectural government."

Seiichi Kataoka got himself started as an official of the internal affairs arm of the government; his career was oriented mainly with the police field; he was elected mayor of Tonami City, Toyama Prefecture, from which he eventually entered into the arena of national politics.

Keijiro Murata joined the Ministry of Home Affairs upon graduating from Tokyo University, rose to director of research at the Academy of Self-Governing before transferring to the Aichi prefectural government in which he served as head of water-supply and construction departments; his ability gained appreciative recognition from Governor Mikine Kuwabara, which thrust him into national politics.

Hiroshi Yukawa joined the old Internal Affairs Ministry during the war years; served with various elements of the national government including the Labor Policy Bureau of the Ministry of Labor after the war; in 1949 he joined the prefectural government of Osaka-Fu and served as the head of its agriculture and forestry department and planning bureau and then as deputy governor before his retirement; he entered into national politics in the 1976 general elections.

Seisuke Okuno's career pattern with the Ministry of Home Affairs was characteristic of the elite--he served as director of the Local Finance Bureau and then as vice minister.

Koji Hirabayashi [first name in error; should be "Kozo"] succeeded the late (Sekiha) as governor of Tottori Prefecture when the latter ran for the Upper House; he served in that post for three terms or 9 years; he ran for the Lower House in the middle of his last term as the governor; his latest election victory made him a second-term member of the Lower House.

Joji Omura joined the Ministry of Home Affairs and rose to the rank of director of the Local Finance Bureau; following the footsteps of his father Seiichi, he ran in the general election of 1963 but lost; won his first election victory in 1967 and has been a winner ever since.

Kiyoshi Mori had a round of assignments in outlying areas after joining the Home Affairs Ministry before returning to the ministry's headquarters, where he served as chief of the General Affairs Division and as counselor at the minister's secretariat prior to his appointment as superintendent of the Fire Defense Academy; he retired from the government service in 1972; he won his Lower House seat for the first time in 1975.

Bunsei Sato was at one point chief of education with Oita prefectural government; he is an eighth-term member of the Lower House since his first election victory in 1967.

Tadashi Kuranari had worked for a local business firm and served with Nagasaki Chamber of Commerce and Industry as chief of its investigation section before joining the prefectural government of Nagasaki in which he served as chief of the farmland, agriculture and forestry department; he inherited his father's constituency and entered into the world of national politics.

Among the Lower House members with the Home Affairs Ministry background, those who have held cabinet portfolios in the past are: Keiwa Okuda (a seventh-term member of the Lower House) who has served as minister of posts and telecommunications, Joji Omura (an eighth-term member) who has served as director general of the Defense Agency, and Tadashi Kuranari (an eleventh-term member) who has held the economic planning portfolio twice.

Big Guns Among Home Affairs Alumni

On the Upper House side, the first winner to emerge from the latest combined elections for the Diet was Isao Matsuura (vice minister of home affairs) who ranked 17th among the proportional representatives. Running from electoral districts were Niro Iwakami (deputy governor of Iwate Prefecture) from Ibaraki District and Hiroshi Miyazawa (vice minister of home affairs) from Hiroshima district; both emerged gloriously victorious.

Isao Matsuura joined the old Internal Affairs Ministry and stayed with it when it became Home Affairs Ministry after the war; after serving in various local positions including the post of deputy mayor of North Kyushu City, he eventually returned to the ministry headquarters where he attained the position of vice minister--the highest reachable for a bureaucrat; the victory in the latest election was his second in a row.

Niro Iwakami served as the governor of Ibaraki Prefecture for four consecutive terms or 16 years beginning 1959; he won his Upper House seat in a special election held in February 1978. His wife Myoko had preceded him to the Upper House by winning her election in 1974; she served in the Upper House for one term through 1980. The Iwakami's are much talked about as a lovebirds-like couple at the Upper House.

Hiroshi Miyazawa is the second oldest among the three Miyazawa brothers led by Kiichi Miyazawa--the family group with splendid reputations and influence in political and government circles. After serving as vice minister of home affairs, he became the governor of Hiroshima Prefecture; his unconventional manner of handling the prefectural administration drew much attention. He won his Upper House seat for the first time in a special election of 1981; his victory this time was his second.

There are four more members of the Upper House with the Home Affairs Ministry background whose seats were not up for reelection this time. They are as follows:

<u>Electoral District</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Home Affairs Background</u>
Akita	Hiromitsu Deguchi	Investigative officer assigned to the minister's secretariat; prefectural lieutenant governor
Yamagata	Keigi Furuya	Vice minister of home affairs
Kagoshima	Saburo Kanemaru	Lt Governor of Kagoshima Prefecture; vice minister of home affairs; governor of Kagoshima Prefecture
Kumamoto	Issei Sawada	Governor of Kumamoto Prefecture

Hiromitsu Deguchi joined the Ministry of Home Affairs after the war upon graduating from the Law School, Tohoku University. While with the Home Affairs Ministry, he was temporarily assigned--on loan basis--to the Ministry of Labor and the Economic Planning Agency; he also served with prefectural governments of Aomori, Akita, Mie, Fukuoka and Oita. In Akita, he at one point was the prefectural chief accounting officer. In 1983, when he was lieutenant governor of Akita Prefecture, he ran for the Upper House and was elected.

Keigi Furuya's career at the Ministry of Home Affairs included such assignments as director of Election Bureau, superintendent of the Home Affairs Academy and director general of the Fire Defense Agency; the culmination of his career there was his appointment as vice minister. He ran for the Upper House in 1977 from Yamagata and achieved victory on his first try; he won reelection in 1983.

Saburo Kanemaru held such positions as chief of Minister's Secretariat and director of the Local Tax Bureau at the Ministry of Home Affairs. He then served as lieutenant governor of Kagoshima Prefecture before becoming vice minister of home affairs. Next he became the governor of Kagoshima. He thus moved back and forth between the Home Affairs Ministry and the prefectural government of Kagoshima. After his three terms as the governor, he was elected as a member of the Upper House in 1977; he won his reelection in 1983.

Issei Sawada began his government service with the Finance Ministry; from there he got himself transferred to Kumamoto Prefecture. Then he moved back to the center and worked at the Ministry of Construction and the Economic Planning Agency. By popular demand he returned to Kumamoto Prefecture where he served as lieutenant governor, counselor and finally as the governor. He has been elected for the Upper House three times: 1965, 1982--a special election--and 1983.

There are many big guns among the members of the Upper House who are ex-officials of the Home Affairs Ministry--those who had held senior positions, such as vice minister, lieutenant governor and governor, are lined up there like a galaxy of stars. As these men gain more reelection victories, we will probably see an increasing number of cabinet ministers coming out of this group.

MITI Alumni Hurting Each Other

It used to be that the next largest number of Diet seats--next to the number of seats held by ex-officials of the Home Affairs Ministry--were held by those with MITI background. In the latest elections for the Lower House, the MITI group put up more candidates than did the Home Affairs group. There were reasons for that: one was that the party's new leaders vied with each other in backing new comers; the other significant factor was the encouragement given to MITI officials by their boss Minister Watanabe. Those who are in the position to know should remember how Watanabe, when he was the finance minister on the Suzuki Cabinet, coaxed his private secretary into running for the Diet in the 1983 general election.

The ex-MITI officials who ran in the latest Lower House elections included seven incumbent members, one former member and four new faces.

The incumbent members of the Lower House who sought reelection were as follows:

<u>Electoral District</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>MITI Background</u>
Hokkaido 1st	Nobutaka Machimura	Senior officer for international petroleum affairs, Agency of Natural Resources and Energy
Ibaraki 1st	Nobuyuki Hanashi	Minister's private secretary
Gunma 1st	Koji Oni	Director of Guidance Department, Small and Medium Enterprise Agency
Shizuoka 3d	Hiroshi Kumagai	Assistant chief of General Coordination Division, Director General's Secretariat, Small and Medium Enterprise Agency
Hyogo 5th	Keihiro Nishiyama	Director of International Trade Administration Bureau
Hiroshima 1st	Fumitake Kishida	Director general, Small and Medium Enterprise Agency
Yamaguchi 1st	Yoshiro Hayashi	A section chief

The one former member of the Lower House who sought a comeback victory was Takamori Makino (director of Osaka Bureau of International Trade and Industry) who ran in the all-Fukui prefectural district.

The four new faces were as follows:

<u>Electoral District</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>MITI Background</u>
Tokyo 5th	Koki Kobayashi	An office chief, MITI
Kanagawa 2d	Yoshiaki Harada	Counselor to the Small Enterprise Department, Small and Medium Enterprise Agency
Nagano 4th	Hitoshi Murai	Chief of General Coordination Division, Agency of Industrial Science and Technology
Kagoshima 1st	Shinichiro Hirata	A division chief, MITI

The only incumbent who failed in the reelection bid was Keihiro Nishiyama of the Hyogo 5th District.

The Hyogo 5th District had been redesignated downward in terms of the number of Lower House seats allocated to each electoral district—from a three-seat district to a two-seat district. It was there that Nishiyama fell victim to two powerful opponents: one was 11th-term incumbent Ryosaku Sasaki, the supreme advisor to the Democratic Socialist Party; the other was Yoichi Tani, a fellow LDP member who had spent many years in nurturing the local constituency. This

was Nishiyama's first reelection bid from this district but he suffered defeat when he came in third—a tragedy brought about by the reduction of the district's quota of the Lower House seats. The margin of votes between him and the runner-up winner Sasaki was only 3,500. If no one at the post-election television interview of Sasaki thought he looked completely pleased, it was for a good reason: for him, who had been chairman of a political party—an opposition party thought it may be, the margin of victory was too minimal.

Takamori Makino, who had suffered defeat in the previous election, did well this time in the all-Fukui prefectural district (a four-seat district) and achieved a comeback victory as the top winner. This is the same district where Fumio Yokote (independent; incumbent), whose name is linked with the "scandal involving the Federation of Silk-throwing Industries," waged a desperate fight, with the backing of "Zensen Domei" [Japan Federation of Textile, Garment, Chemical, Distributive and Allied Industry Workers' Union], to preserve his seat but ended up being a distant runner-up loser with a vote margin exceeding 25,000 from the lowest-ranked winner—so he received his baptism of election defeat.

Among the new faces, Hitoshi Murai, who ran from the Nagano 4th District with strong support of former Finance Minister Noboru Takeshita, was elected as the first runner-up winner. This district has always been known as "the district of cabinet ministers" since the end of the war; it is a tough constituency where failure to win reelection by any incumbent member of the Diet is treated as nothing unusual. In his first try from this constituency, Murai in the latest election was up against such big guns as sixth-term incumbent Shunjiro Karasawa (deputy chief cabinet secretary on the second Nakasone Cabinet); Shoichi Shimodaira, former vice chairman of JSP; and Sadayoshi Ozawa, chairman of the Diet Countermeasure Committee of the Democratic Socialist Party. It was here that in the previous election Dai Shiohima, an ex-official of the Construction Ministry, ran with the backing of the Tanaka faction of LDP and was elected on his first try but he died in September 1985. Murai ran as the late Shiohima's successor.

All the rest of the new faces suffered defeat.

Koki Kobayashi was a runner-up loser in the Tokyo 5th District, a three-seat district, by a margin of 2,000 votes from the third-place winner Torao Takasawa (JSP; incumbent). In the Kanagawa 2d District, despite the support of the Nakasone faction, Yoshiaki Harada lost by a margin of 70,000 votes from the lowest-place winner. Also ran in this district with the support of Nakasone faction was Tetsuo Kono, who had served as personal secretary to a member of the Upper House, but he, too, suffered a crushing defeat, gaining only a few more votes than Harada did. All this indicates that nonsensical backing of new faces actually backfired. Shinichiro Hirata, the loser in the Kagoshima 1st District, was backed by the Fukuda faction. In that district, too, the picture was just as disorderly as evident in the fact that the Fukuda faction backed another new comer named Kazuaki Miyaji (councillor to the minister's secretariat, Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries).

All these unsuccessful new faces ran as independents because they were unable to secure the party's official endorsement. Here, again, one can see the misery befallen on those who were left out of the party's official tickets.

Of those who were successful this time, Nobutaka Machimura is better known as the son of former member of the Upper House Kingo Machimura, a big man in the political circles of Hokkaido, than as former senior officer for international petroleum affairs at the Agency of Natural Resources and Energy. He was elected on his first try in 1983; this time was his second election victory.

Nobuyuki Hanashi is a bachelor of science from the Department of Science, Hokkaido University. He is something unusual as a Diet member. Given his father being a former Diet member, he is a second-generation Diet member, and perhaps he ought to be placed in that category. The reason for his inclusion in the MITI alumni group here is that he got his feet wet in the world of politics when he became the personal secretary to the then Minister of International Trade and Industry Hajime Fukuda in 1962.

Koji Omi joined MITI immediately upon his graduation from university; he held such positions as director of General Affairs Division, Science and Technology Agency and director of Guidance Department, Small and Medium Enterprise Agency. He ran for the Lower House from the Gunma 1st District for the first time in the 1983 general election and won.

Hiroshi Kumagai served in the Small and Medium Enterprise Agency as assistant chief of General Coordination Division within the director general's secretariat and also as chief of the Policy Dissemination Office. In 1977 he ran for the Upper House and was elected on top of the list. He switched to the Lower House in 1983; at that time, he ran into considerable dissension with the Diet-member group in the Shizuoka 3d District; in spite of it, he overcame the problem and scored an impressive victory as the top-place winner. Latest election victory makes him a second-term member of the Lower House.

Fumitake Kishida joined the Ministry of Commerce and Industry (now MITI) upon graduation from the Law School, Tokyo University; he held such positions as director of the International Trade Administration Bureau and director general of the Small and Medium Enterprise Agency. He ran for the Diet in the 1979 general election and was elected on his first try. Upper House member Hiroshi Miyazawa is his brother-in-law; his younger sister is the wife of Miyazawa.

Yoshiro Hayashi joined MITI upon graduation from Tokyo University; he retired from the government service as a division chief to enter into politics.

Takamori Makino, who scored a comeback victory [word indistinct] time, joined MITI upon graduation from Tokyo University. At one point he was assigned to the Japanese Embassy in Germany with the rank of first secretary, which provided him a taste of overseas life. The last position he held with MITI was director of Osaka Bureau of International Trade and Industry. With that

he retired from the government service and entered into politics. He achieved successive victories in general elections of 1979 and 1980 but lost in the 1983 election in which he ended up as a runner-up loser. At that time, the vote margin between him and fourth-place winner Fumio Yokote was only 3,000. This time, he was elected as the first-place winner.

For the third Nakasone Cabinet, Nobuyuki Hanashi was drafted as the minister of home affairs (concurrently chairman of the National Public Safety Commission).

Many Agricultural Types "Waiting for Their Turns"

The following numbers of ex-officials of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries ran in the latest Diet elections: For the Lower House, four incumbents and two new faces; for the Upper House, two proportional representatives and one from electoral district.

The four incumbents who sought reelection were as follows:

<u>Election District</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Agricultural Ministry Background</u>
Fukushima 1st	Masayoshi Ito	Vice minister
Nagano 1st	Masatoshi Wakabayashi	Chief of General Affairs Division, Structural Improvement Bureau
Fukuoka 3d	Heihachiro Yamasaki	Director of Kyushu Agricultural Administration Bureau
Nagasaki 1st	Fumio Kyuma	Served with Agricultural and Forestry Ministry and also with Nagasaki Prefectural Government

The two new faces who ran for the Lower House were:

<u>Election District</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Agricultural Ministry Background</u>
Fukuoka 3d	Masahiro Koga	Chief of Agricultural Cooperation Division of the ministry; director of Agricultural Administration, Fukuoka Prefecture
Kagoshima 1st	Kazuaki Miyaji	Counselor to Minister's Secretariat

Out of this group, the only one to suffer defeat was Kazuaki Miyaji, one of the new faces.

The Kagoshima 1st District was where LDP had too many candidates--some ran as independents--running against each other: three incumbents and three new faces in all. It is where Takesaburo Yamasaki, an incumbent, lost his reelection bid. All new faces who ran in this district gained only negligible numbers of votes--all fell fighting in a sorry state of affairs.

Masayoshi Ito of the Fukushima 2d District is a leading member of the Suzuki faction. He joined the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry upon graduation from the Law School, Tokyo University. In the ministry, he served in positions such as director of Agricultural Land Bureau, director general of the Fishery Agency, and the vice minister. Then he entered into the arena of national politics. He served as chief cabinet secretary on the Ohira Cabinet. He and the late Prime Minister Ohira were close friends. At the time of the Suzuki Cabinet, he was appointed foreign minister, only to resign suddenly in connection with the controversy over the Japanese-U.S. joint communique incident--the proof of the impulsive side of his disposition. The election victory this time was his eighth. As a leading figure of the Suzuki faction, he was named as chairman of the Policy Coordination Council in the recent reshuffle of the LDP's leadership.

Masatoshi Wakabayashi of the Nagano 1st District served as chief of agricultural administration and general affairs divisions within the Agricultural Structure Improvement Bureau of the ministry. He retired from the ministry in time to run in the general election of 1983; he was victorious on his first try, defeating the party elder Zentaro Kosaka in the race.

Heihachiro Yamasaki of the Fukuoka 3d District had served as director of the Kyushu Regional Office of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry before entering into politics. To date he has won seven election victories. His father, Tatsunosuke Yamasaki, was a big name in the prewar days who served as minister of agriculture and forestry. His uncle, Iwao Yamasaki, served as minister of home affairs. A family of statesmen his is.

Fumio Kyuma joined the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry upon graduation from Tokyo University. Later, at the urging of the then Governor Kubo of Nagasaki Prefecture, Kyuma joined the Nagasaki prefectural government. Subsequently he became a member of the prefectural general assembly and tried to win a seat at the Diet but his first attempt failed. He vindicated his honor by winning in the combined Diet elections of 1980; he has been a member of the Lower House since then.

For Masahiro Koga, who won in the Fukuoka 3d District, this was not his first attempt. In the previous election held in 1983, he suffered defeat as a runner-up. The margin of votes was 6,500. He had to bide his time for 2 years and a half prior to his victory this time. He joined the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry after graduating from Tokyo University. He left the ministry when he was chief of the Agricultural Cooperative Division and joined the prefectural government of Fukuoka; he retired as director of the Agricultural Administration Department to enter into national politics.

On the Upper House side, the following four members were up for reelection this time; all of them won:

<u>Electoral District</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Agricultural Ministry Background</u>
Proportional	Saburo Okabe	Deputy director, Agricultural Structure Improvement Bureau
Ditto	Taichiro Okawara	Director general of Food Agency; Vice minister
Tochigi	Tomoji Oshima	Director, Agricultural Department, Tochigi Prefecture
Kyoto	Yukio Hayashida	Director of Horticulture Bureau of the ministry

Taichiro Okawara ranked fourth among the proportional representatives--a comfortable victory it was. He joined the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry upon graduation from Tokyo University Law School. His career path with the ministry was that of the elite--he served as director general of the Food Agency and as the vice minister before retiring. He ran for the Upper House from the national constituency and was elected as the eighth-place winner. He won his second victory this time as the fourth-place winner among the proportional representatives. He has been a consistent proponent of protecting our country's agricultural, forestry and fisheries industries; he has the reputation of being "an expert in the field of agricultural, forestry and fisheries administration." He has held such positions as advisor to the National Federation of Food Industry Cooperatives, the national organization of the vice dealers.

Saburo Okabe was the 10th-place winner among the LDP's proportional representatives. A graduate of Tokyo University Agricultural Department, he served in the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, rising to the position of deputy director of the Agricultural Structure Improvement Bureau. In 1980 he ran for the Upper House from the national constituency and came in as the 7th-place winner. The victory this time was his second.

Tomoji Oshima of the Tochigi District started off with the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry but after the war joined the prefectural government of Tochigi where he held such positions as chief of farmland development section and director of agricultural department. He won his Upper House election for the first time in 1974 with the support of agricultural organizations. Since then he has won twice more--in 1980 and this time. [Note: Earlier, Yukio Hayashida was mentioned as another member of the Upper House reelected this time, but no mention is made of him here, nor is he included in the totals given below.]

As noted above, five ex-officials of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries were elected for the Lower House and three for the Upper House in the latest elections.

The following four members of the Upper House were not up for reelection this time:

<u>Electoral District</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Agricultural Ministry Background</u>
Proportional	Matazo Kajiki	Director of Construction Department
Tottori	Kuniji Kobayashi	Director of Hokuriku Regional Office of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry
Tokushima	Tomoyoshi Kamenaga	Vice minister
Ehime	Tokutaro Higaki	Vice minister

Matazo Kajiki was last reelected in 1983 as a proportional representative--the third-place winner among LDP candidates. That was his third consecutive victory following his first in 1971 and second in 1977. He joined the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry upon graduation from Kyoto University; at the ministry he was involved in the land improvement project; he retired from the ministry as director of the Construction Department. He ran for the Upper House from the national constituency in 1971 with the backing of the National Federation of Land Improvement Organizations. He has served as director general of the Environment Agency.

Kuniji Kobayashi of Tottori was director of the Hokuriku Regional Office of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. He ran for the Upper House from the national constituency in 1968 and won; he was reelected in 1974, again from the national constituency. In 1981, he was drafted to run in the Tottori special election necessitated by the death of former Minister of Home Affairs (Ishiyaburi? Sekiha?); he won.

Tomoyoshi Kamenaga of Tokushima is better known as "the Kamenaga of the Agriculture and Forestry." A graduate of Tokyo University Law School, he joined the ministry and rose to hold such key positions as director general of the Food Agency and the vice minister before entering the field of politics--a career specialist in agricultural administration. He was elected for the Upper House in 1977 for the first time; was reelected in 1983. He is close to former Prime Minister Miki; he belongs to the Komoto faction. He has many contacts in political and financial circles. He is deserving of attention as a potential candidate for the cabinet post.

Tokutaro Higaki of Ehime was Kamenaga's senior at the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry where he, too, had followed the elite career course of serving as director general of the Food Agency and then as the vice minister. He stands foremost among the "experts in agricultural administration." He won his Upper House seat for the first time in 1971 and has been reelected twice since then. He had already served as minister of posts and telecommunications. Within LDP he belongs to the Nakasone faction.

Altogether there are 11 Diet members--5 in the Lower House and 6 in the Upper House--who are ex-officials of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries. [Note: The figure for the Upper House is questionable.]

Of this group, the following four have held the position of vice minister of agriculture and forestry: Masayoshi Ito, Taichiro Okawara, Tomoyoshi Kamenaga and Tokutaro Higaki. Ito and Higaki are the only two who have served as a cabinet minister. There are several others who are waiting in line for cabinet appointment.

Dwindling Flow of Transportation Bureaucrats

There was a time when senior bureaucrats from the Ministry of Transportation, which had produced former Prime Minister Eisaku Sato, were entering the world of politics. Few of them are doing so these days. Moreover, while younger officials of other government agencies are turning to politics in great numbers, such is not the case with the Transportation Ministry. Only one new face from the transportation quarters, including the Japanese National Railways, ran in the latest combined elections for both houses of the Diet.

Ex-transportation officials who ran in the July elections were three incumbent members of the Lower House, two incumbent members of the Upper House, and one new face. All except the one new face were victorious. The three incumbent members of the Lower House were as follows:

<u>Electoral District</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Transportation Background</u>
Shizuoka 1st	Shozo Harada	Councillor to the Minister's Secretariat
All-Shimane prefectural	Kichizo Hosoda	Chief secretary to the minister
Kagoshima 1st	Moichi Miyazaki	Director, Ports and Harbors Bureau

The two incumbent members of the Upper House were as follows:

<u>Electoral District</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Transportation Background</u>
Proportional	Kiyoshi Kajiwara	Director, Road Transport Bureau
Yamaguchi	Atsushi Ejima	Director, Hiroshima Railroad Control Bureau, National Railways

The unsuccessful new-face candidate was Nobuya Kawashima (director of Kyushu Regional Department, National Railways) who ran for the Lower House in the all-Shiga prefectural district.

Shozo Harada, a graduate of Tokyo University Engineering School, initially joined the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry but subsequently transferred himself to the Transportation Ministry where he last served as councillor to the minister's secretariat. In 1975 he ran for the Lower House seat vacated by former Education Minister Saburo Takami and won. The latest election victory is his fifth in a row.

Kichizo Hosoda, a graduate of Tokyo University Law School, joined the Ministry of Transportation where the last position he held before retirement was that of chief secretary to the minister. Since entering the world of politics, he has been elected to the Lower House 10 times. He has already served in such key positions as director general of the Administrative Management Agency, director general of the Defense Agency and chairman of LDP's Executive Council. Together with the late Shigeru Hori and others, he had founded the "Shusan Club" of the old Sato faction. At present he belongs to the Fukuda faction--also known as the Abe faction.

Moichi Miyazaki started off at the old Internal Affairs Ministry but moved himself to the Transportation Ministry after the war. From Hiroshima Railroad Bureau he was transferred to the Transportation Ministry headquarters where he last served as director of the Posts and Harbors Bureau before retiring. He ran for the first time in the 1969 general elections but lost. He ran again in the 1972 Lower House election and was elected with the highest number of votes from his district. The latest election victory was his sixth.

The first-time candidate Nobuya Kawashima, who had retired from the National Railways as director of its Kyushu Regional Department, was a loser in the all-Shiga prefectural district.

On the Upper House side, the incumbent proportional representative Kiyoshi Kajiwara won a decisive victory as the ninth-place winner among LDP candidates. He had to qualify himself by passing a certificate examination before entering Kyoto University. Upon graduation he joined the Ministry of Transportation where the last position he held before retiring was director of the Land Transport Bureau. Was elected for the Upper House from the national constituency for the first time in 1980. This time, he was reelected as the ninth-place winner among the proportional representation candidates. He has seen the hardship-side of the life.

Among those members of the Upper House whose seats were not up for reelection this time is one Makoto Yoshimura, the ninth-place proportional representation winner in the 1983 Upper House elections. He joined the Ministry of Transportation upon graduating from Tokyo University Engineering Department. After serving as director of the Shikoku Shipping Bureau and director of the Ports and Harbor Construction Bureau, he became director of the Ports and Harbors Bureau, the last position he held before retiring from the ministry. His election to the Upper House in 1983 as the ninth-place winner among the LDP's proportional representatives was his first. It is commonly acknowledged that he is our country's foremost expert in the field of port and harbor administration.

Another hold-over member of the Upper House is Mutsuo Kimura (director of the Tourism Bureau, Ministry of Transportation) of the Okayama electoral district. He joined the Transportation Ministry upon graduating from Tokyo University Law School, where he served as director of the Land Transport Bureau and of the Tourism Bureau. He was first elected to the Upper House

in a special election of 1964; since then he had been reelected four times--in 1965, 1971, 1977 and 1983. To date, he has already held such positions as minister of transportation and president of the Upper House.

In all, there are now seven ex-officials of the Transportation Ministry holding seats in the Diet: three in the Lower House, and four (including one ex-official of the National Railways) in the Upper House. Speaking of ex-officials of the National Railways, Katsu Kawamura, the Democratic Socialist Party member of the Lower House from the Kanagawa 5th District, is one.

Ex-officials of the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications--Few in Number but Big in Stature

Turning now to ex-officials of the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, they are--as may be expected--scarce among the members of the Lower House. In fact, Megumu Sato (director of Matsuyama Regional Postal Services Bureau) from the Osaka 6th District is the only one.

On the Upper House side, reelected this time are the following two: Yuji Nagata (vice minister of posts and telecommunications), the second-place winner among the proportional representation candidates; Arinobu Morizumi (vice minister of posts and telecommunications) from the Kumamoto electoral district.

Of those members of the Upper House whose seats were not up for reelection this time, the following two belong to this group: Yutaka Okano (director of the Personnel Bureau of the ministry), the LDP's fourth-place winner among the proportional representation candidates in the 1983 elections; Shoji Nishimura (vice minister of posts and telecommunications) from the Tottori electoral district.

Megumu Sato joined the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications upon graduating from Kyoto University Law School. There he served in positions such as chief of the archives and documents section, chief of the Broadcast Department of the Radio Regulatory Bureau and director of the Matsuyama Regional Postal Services Bureau. His candidacy in the 1969 general elections marked his switch to politics. Since then he has won in seven elections and has already served as minister of posts and telecommunications.

Upper House member Yuji Nagata joined the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications upon graduating from Tokyo University Law School. After serving as chief of Personnel Division and director of the Hiroshima Regional Postal Services Bureau he was appointed vice minister of posts and telecommunications, the last position he held before leaving the ministry to run for the Upper House in 1968 from the national constituency--he was elected on his first try. Subsequently, he was reelected twice--in 1974 and 1980--from the national constituency. In his latest victory, his fourth, he was the second-place winner among the proportional representation candidates. He has already held a cabinet post as state minister (director general of the Science and Technology Agency).

Arinobu Morizumi, a graduate of Tokyo University Economics Department, joined the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications where he, after serving as director of the Personnel, the Accounts and Finance and the Postal Bureaus, became the first director of the Telecommunications Policy Bureau and then the vice minister. While serving with the ministry he put forth the so-called "teletopia scheme" envisioning the construction of information society-oriented cities in the outlying areas. He was first elected to the Upper House in a special election of 1985.

Yutaka Okano entered the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications immediately upon graduating from Kyoto University Law School. He was elected to the Upper House in the very first election of proportional representatives as the LDP's fourth-place winner. While with the ministry, he had served in various positions such as chief of the Personnel Division, director of the Kyushu Regional Postal Services Bureau and director of the Personnel Bureau at the ministry headquarters. He made his reputation within the ministry as "the Okano of the labor affairs."

Shoji Nishimura, a graduate of Tokyo University, joined the old Ministry of Communications where his career progressed along the elite course: after serving as director of the Post Office Life Insurance Bureau and of the Postal Bureau, he was appointed vice minister. He was elected to the Upper House for the first time in 1965. Since then he has been reelected three times--in 1971, 1977 and 1983. During the Miki Administration, he served as director general of the Prime Minister's Office and concurrently as director general of the Okinawa Development Agency. He is a man who has had the experience of holding cabinet posts.

In all, there are five ex-officials of the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications holding seats in the Diet--one in the Lower House, four in the Upper House. Three of them--Sato, Nagata and Nishimura--have already served as cabinet minister.

Bureaucrats of Police Background--On the Rise

Noteworthy is the number of Diet members who are ex-officials of the Justice Ministry and the National Police Agency. Something more than a coincidence is the fact the incumbent Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakaso was at one point a police supervisor with the Metropolitan Police Department. In the latest elections, however, no new face of this background made it to the Lower House. On the Upper House side, Kokichi (Shimoinaba) (director general of the Metropolitan Police Department) was newly elected as the fifth-place winner among the proportional representatives.

Yasuhiro Nakasone won his first election victory in 1947 soon after the war; to date, he has won 16 times in all. He is being criticized by various groups for "having forced on" the latest combined Diet elections "with feigned indifference," but without question it was a move that has brought stability to the LDP administration. He has held cabinet portfolios responsible for

Ministry of Transportation, MITI, Science and Technology Agency, Administrative Management Agency and Defense Agency. On the party side, he has served as chairman of the Executive Council and as secretary general. Despite his long-standing reputation as being a "weathercock," few can match him when it comes to the knack of turning the opponent's situation around to his own favor.

How long will Nakasone be able to sustain his third cabinet?--this, according to the agreed view among political circles and the experts, is the question probably worth watching.

In the Lower House races, Nakasone and five other incumbents with police background were reelected. The five are as follows:

<u>Electoral District</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Police Background</u>
Saitama 1st	Hikaru Matsunaga	Public prosecutor
Gifu 2d	Toru Furuya	Director, General Affairs Division, Metropolitan Police Department
Mie 1st	Sachio Yamamoto	Headquarters commandant, Osaka Prefectural Police; Vice minister of construction
Hiroshima 3d	Shizuka Kamei	Investigator, Director General's Secretariat, National Police Agency
All-Tokushima	Masaharu Gotoda	Director general, National Police Agency

On the Upper House side, Kokichi Shimoinaba (director general of the Metropolitan Police Department) was elected as the fifth-place winner among the proportional representatives in the latest election.

In addition, there is one hold-over member of the Upper House who belongs to this group: Tsuruzo Kaieda (director of regional police bureaus of Kyushu and Kinki), the LDP 10th-place winner among the proportional representatives in the 1983 Upper House elections.

In all, there are six [sic] ex-officials of justice and police background now holding Diet seats. Excluding the ones in the Upper House who are new there, most of those in the Lower House have already held cabinet post.

Hikaru Matsunaga started off as a public prosecutor, then became personal secretary to his father, the late (Azuma) Matsunaga, when the latter was minister of education. Then, after a period of practicing law, he entered the world of politics. To date he has won seven election victories. He has served as minister of education.

Toru Furuya turned to politics after having served as director of the General Affairs Division, Metropolitan Police Department, and then as deputy director general of the Prime Minister's Office. He has been elected to the Lower House eight times. He was minister of home affairs (concurrently chairman of the National Public Safety Commission) on the second Nakasone Cabinet.

Sachio Yamamoto, while serving as headquarters commandant of Osaka Prefectural Police, was spotted by Ichiro Kono which led to his transfer to the Ministry of Construction where he became vice minister. Since turning to politics, he has been elected to the Lower House seven times. He has served as minister of home affairs.

Shizuka Kamei retired in 1977 from the National Police Agency after serving as an investigator assigned to the director general's secretariat. He was elected to the Lower House for the first time in 1979; since then he has been reelected three times.

Masaharu Gotoda, after he retired from the post of director general of the National Police Agency, accepted the appointment as deputy chief cabinet secretary at the request of Kakuei Tanaka. He ran in the 1974 Upper House elections from the Tokushima District; much was made of the race he was in--people called it as "a battle of surrogates between Miki and Tanaka," but it was the race Gotoda lost. He ran again in the 1976 general election and redeemed himself by winning. It was the first of five election victories he has won to date. He has already served as chief cabinet secretary, director general of the Administrative Management Agency and director general of the Prime Minister's Office; he was chief cabinet secretary in the second Nakasone Cabinet, and he still is in the third--he is the bedrock of the Nakasone Administration.

Turning to the agencies that are offshoots of the old Ministry of Internal Affairs, running for the Lower House in the latest combined Diet elections were five ex-officials of the Construction Ministry--three incumbents seeking reelection, and two new faces. The three incumbents were:

<u>Electoral District</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Construction Ministry Background</u>
Akita 1st	Hosei Noro [Norota]	Chief of Archives and Documents Section
Ehime 3d	Isamu Imai	Director, Shikoku Regional Construction Bureau
Oita 2d	Takashi Tahara	Director, Kyushu Regional Construction Bureau

The two new faces were: Takeshi Maeda (a specialist) of the all-Nara prefectural district and Toshinobu Awaya (vice minister of construction) of the Hiroshima 1st District. Of these two, Takeshi Maeda was the runner-up winner in his district. Toshinobu Awaya, meanwhile, fought a bitter battle against incumbent-candidate Fumitake Kishida, an ex-official of MITI (director general, Small and Medium Enterprise Agency)--the race was called as "a battle of bureaucrats between Construction and MITI"; Awaya came in on top with a margin of some 40,000 votes over Kishida. All five--three incumbents and two new faces--won.

In Upper House races, Takashi Inoue (vice minister of construction) was the eighth-place winner among the proportional representatives, but Katahisa Kamijo (superintendent, Construction College) in the Miyazaki electoral district suffered a crushing defeat in the battle against new-face independent

candidate Mitsuhiro Uesuzi (a member of the prefectural assembly) who belongs to the Tanaka faction--the vote margin was 100,000, no less.

In addition, there are four more Upper House members belonging to this group whose seats were not up for reelection this time. They are: Koji Masuoka (director, River Bureau), the eighth-place winner among the proportional representatives in the 1983 Upper House elections; Raishiro Koga (chief engineer), the 11th-place winner among the proportional representatives in the 1983 Upper House elections; Ichiro Yamanouchi (vice minister) of the Fukui electoral district; and Minoru Ueda (director, River Bureau) of the Kyoto electoral district.

Thus, the number of ex-officials of the Construction Ministry among the present members of the Diet has increased to 10--5 each in the Lower and Upper Houses.

There are three ex-officials of the Labor Ministry among the Lower House members. All three--each a man of stature as a bureaucrat--won reelection this time. They are:

<u>Electoral District</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Labor Ministry Background</u>
Fukushima 1st	Kunikichi Saito	Vice minister of labor
Toyama 2d	Eisaku Sumi	Director, Employment Security Bureau
Kagoshima 2d	Motoharu Arima	Vice minister of labor

Kunikichi Saito is a mainstay of the Suzuki faction. He is an 11th-term member of the Lower House. He has served twice as minister of health and welfare and once as director general of the Administrative Management Agency. He has also served as secretary general of LDP.

Eisaku Sumi is a sixth-term member of the Lower House. In the 1972 general election he achieved a historical feat of being elected as the first-place winner despite the fact he had failed to gain the party's official endorsement.

Motoharu Arima, too, is a six-time winner. He and Sumi are both just a step away from the cabinet appointment.

As for the other ministries, the Ministry of Health and Welfare has two of its former officials serving in the Diet: Tatsuo Ozawa (a division chief in the ministry) of the Lower House is from Niigata 1st District; Man Sasaki (chief of the prefectural planning coordination department) of the Upper House is from the Akita electoral district. In the latest election, Seiho Tozawa (vice minister of health and welfare) ran for the Lower House from the Kanagawa 4th District and scored a fine comeback victory, increasing the group's total to three. Ozawa, who has already served as minister of construction and of health and welfare and also as director general of the Environment Agency, is one of the men who hold the key to the future of the Tanaka faction.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has one of its former officials serving in the Lower House: he is Kinji Moriyama of the Tochizi 1st District. Another ex-official of the Foreign Ministry Yutaka Kondo (served at the Japanese Embassy in South Korea), who in the past ran for the Lower House--and used to win--as an independent endorsed by the public, tried this time with the backing of LDP's Tanaka faction--he lost the election.

In the Upper House, Hiroshi Oki (consul general in Honolulu) from the Aichi electoral district is a former official of the Foreign Ministry. He was reelected in the latest election.

In addition to all these groups of ex-bureaucrats identified above, Kazumi Mochinaga (director general of the Social Insurance Agency) ran for the Lower House from the Miyazaki 2d District and won on his first try. In the Upper House, there are two more ex-bureaucrats holding seats there now: they are Kakuji Yanagawa (director, Administration Bureau, Ministry of Education) and Masao Horie (an official of the Defense Agency)--both were elected as proportional representatives in the 1983 election.

As a result of massive infusion of ex-bureaucrats into politics coupled with the high rate of election successes achieved by this group, the LDP is now in the process of turning into a heaven for bureaucrats--through and through.

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CSO: 4105/181

ECONOMIC

NAKASONE VOWS TO ACHIEVE 4-PERCENT GROWTH

OW180357 Tokyo KYODO in English 0304 GMT 18 Sep 86

[Text] Tokyo, Sep 18 (KYODO)--Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone vowed Thursday his government will implement steps to attain a 4 percent real economic growth in fiscal 1986.

Speaking at a meeting of the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry (JCCI), Nakasone said the government has plans to extend loans to businesses battered by the yen's sharp appreciation.

The premier made the statement just before government and ruling Liberal-Democratic Party leaders were to meet to finalize a Y3.6 trillion economic package to enhance the nation's economic growth.

"I am instructing the ministries concerned to draw up steps to achieve a 4 percent economic growth" in fiscal 1986 ending next March 31, Nakasone said.

He predicted that Japan's current account surplus will dramatically increase this year from last year's all-time high of 49.2 billion dollars.

Pointing out that protectionism is on the rise in many countries, the premier underscored the need for Japan to change its economic structure to reduce the tensions with its trading partners in North America, Western Europe, Asia, and elsewhere.

Nakasone also pledged that his government is committed to administrative, fiscal, and educational reforms to "build a new international state, Japan."

But he made no mention of the new broad-covering indirect tax under consideration, an issue which was the main theme of JCCI Chief Noboru Goto's speech.

Goto expressed strong opposition to the new tax scheme which he said "cannot be condoned under today's harsh business climate."

Goto warned that the proposed tax would impose an excessive burden on smaller firms battling the yen's sharp appreciation.

Goto, president of Tokyu Railways, called for the government to map out a supplementary budget at an early date and lower the official discount rate from the present 3.5 percent per annum.

Satoshi Sumita, Bank of Japan governor, ruled out Wednesday the possibility of an immediate discount rate reduction. His remarks prompted the yen to surge in value against the U.S. dollar in New York, London, and Tokyo.

Goto also called on the Nakasone government to change its policy to promote imports of beef and wheat whose prices in Japan have changed little despite the yen's appreciation.

Nakasone's ruling Liberal-Democratic Party, whose power base is in farm prefectures, has stubbornly resisted pressure at home and from abroad to abandon its subsidy programs for dairy farmers and rice growers.

Goto in his speech also proposed the creation of a fund to aid smaller enterprises in switching their line of business via loans with low interests or no interest at all.

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ECONOMIC

NAKASONE, ITO AGREE ON SUPPLEMENTARY BUDGET

OW130849 Tokyo KYODO in English 0634 GMT 13 Sep 86

[Text] Tokyo, Sep 13 (KYODO)--Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone and Masayoshi Ito, chairman of the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party's Policy Affairs Research Council, agreed Saturday that a supplementary budget of over Y3 trillion should be submitted to the current extraordinary Diet session this fall.

Nakasone reportedly told Ito, "the size of the supplementary budget needs to exceed Y3 trillion in view of foreign calls for Japan to expand domestic demand."

The special budget will cover reflationary measures such as public works projects which the government is currently drawing up to counter the effects of the yen's rise in value on the nation's flagging economy.

Ito said in the meeting that if fiscal resources are insufficient to finance the supplementary budget, construction bonds should be issued rather than reducing the scale of the extra budget.

Ito told the press later that Nakasone raised no objection at the meeting to such an issuance of contruction bonds.

Nakasone has committed his government to an austere policy of terminating by fiscal 1990 the issuance of the deficit-covering bonds, financial experts said.

Referring to worsening unemployment stemming from the yen's appreciation against the dollar, Nakasone said, "The government will make efforts to attain its economic growth target of 4 percent for fiscal 1986."

Nakasone said the supplementary budget of more than Y3 trillion is also needed to achieve the policy goal.

Both LDP leaders agreed that the government will also promote overseas financial assistance to help the economic growth of developing nations as part of Japan's efforts to reduce its huge trade surplus.

Meanwhile, Chief Cabinet Secretary Masaharu Gotoda said in a recorded television program that the government will submit a supplementary budget draft of "a substantial scale" to the Diet in late October after reviewing the nation's economic indicators.

Gotoda, an influential aid to the premier, said, however, the idea of issuing construction bonds to finance the supplementary budget is "unreasonable," and hinted that the government will have to study its revenue and expenditure programs first before considering the issuance of construction bonds.

The government has not decided on how to finance the stimulative fiscal measures, and is considering using a Y440 billion revenue surplus from the fiscal 1985 budget and the expected revenue from sales of stocks of the privatized Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Corp. (NTT), sources said.

Gotoda also hinted that Japan will appeal for other major industrialized democracies to help Japan to deal with the adverse effects on its economy of the yen's precipitous rise at an expected meeting of the Group of Five (G-5) or Group of Seven (G-7) nations in Washington later this month.

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ECONOMIC

SUMITA TO REITERATE STAND ON DISCOUNT RATE CUT

OW241027 Tokyo KYODO in English 0712 GMT 24 Sep 86

[Text] Tokyo, 24 Sep (KYODO)--Satoshi Sumita, governor of the Bank of Japan, Wednesday said he will seek understanding of the central bank's monetary policy that Japan need not further reduce the official discount rate for the moment at a series of international conferences slated to begin this weekend in Washington.

Sumita told a press conference that he will stress importance of exchange rate stability at meetings of the Group of 10 (G-10) industrial countries and of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

Sumita has repeatedly ruled out the possibility of an immediate cut in the key rate despite pressures from the United States for Japan and West Germany to reduce the rate to expand domestic demand and thereby increase imports for U.S. products. "I will listen to other people's opinions but the basic stance (of the Bank of Japan) will not change," Sumita said.

Sumita said, however, the central bank will continue to place the "utmost" importance on the need for international policy coordination.

Sumita reiterated that credit conditions in Japan are adequately eased and the discount rate charged on loans to commercial banks is at a historically low level. The bank has cut the base rate three times this year bringing it down to 3.5 percent per annum.

On the yen-dollar rate, Sumita said currency stability is needed also to help Japan expand domestic demand and thus to contribute to the world economy.

Sumita is scheduled to leave for Washington Thursday afternoon and will return on 4 October.

Prior to the IMF and World Bank meeting beginning on Sunday, meetings of the Group of Five (G-5)--The United States, Japan, West Germany, France and Britain--and the Group of Seven (G-7)--G-5 members plus Italy and Canada--are expected.

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CSO: 4100/013

ECONOMIC

JETRO WHITE PAPER SUGGESTS TECHNOLOGY TRANSFERS

OW181049 Tokyo KYODO in English 0801 GMT 18 Sep 86

[Text] Tokyo, Sep 18 (KYODO)--Citing Japan's innate export-led economy as the main source of external friction, JETRO in an annual white paper released Thursday called for direct investment in and technology transfers to developing countries to foster their export-oriented industries.

The Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) stressed in the report that Japan should step up imports of manufactured products from and direct investment in industrialized countries to defuse the trade tensions with the United States, the European community, and other trading partners.

The semigovernmental agency promoting friction-free global trade called on Japan to boost official development assistance to debtor countries and other poor countries and increase imports from developing countries.

The 354-page document attributed Japan's external imbalance--its current account surplus alone totaled 49.2 billion dollars in 1985--to the country's industrial and trade structures dependent on an expansion of exports and a low level of imports.

Japan's net assets abroad jumped to 129.8 billion dollars at the end of last year, making the country the world's biggest creditor nation.

The innate structures, often a target of overseas criticism, JETRO said, are "the key cause" of Japan's mushrooming trade and current account surpluses. Japan worldwide trade surplus on a customs-clearance basis reached a record 46.1 billion dollars last year, up from 33.6 billion dollars in 1984.

The white paper on trade is JETRO's 31st and one of the two white papers JETRO, affiliated with the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), publishes every year. The other white paper is devoted to Japan's foreign investment.

JETRO proposed steps to increase domestic demand, imports of manufactured products and direct investment abroad and further open up the Japanese market to decrease Japan's external trade and current account surpluses.

The report urged the government of Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone to offer tax and financial incentives to Japanese businesses to facilitate their overseas ventures and procurements from abroad of equipment and parts.

The white paper noted that the yen's appreciation against the U.S. dollar--a surprising 49.4 percent between September 1985 and last July and increasing competition from newly industrialized countries [NIC's] in Asia have badly damaged Japan's light industries such as metal tableware and binoculars.

JETRO recommended that Japanese firms manufacture more high quality products, make additional investment abroad and cultivate new distribution channels to thwart competition from the Asian NIC's.

A preliminary report issued by the Bank of Japan put Japan's direct overseas investment in the first half of this year at 4.98 billion dollars against 2.96 billion dollars over a year ago.

Despite the yen's sharp rise in value, Japanese video tape recorders and cassette record players are enjoying shares of over 90 percent in the U.S. market. However, Japan's market share of metal tableware and bicycles, sagged to 32.9 percent and 28.9 percent, compared to 56.8 percent and 64.8 percent held by the Asian NIC's.

World trade this year is characterized by a decline in the U.S. dollar's value, falling oil prices and lowering interest rates, JETRO noted.

The prices of crude are projected to total 16 to 17 dollars per barrel on an annual basis this year, compared to the 1985 average of 28 dollars, according to Hiroki Sakamoto, director of the JETRO economic information departments international economic affairs division and one of the white paper's authors.

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ECONOMIC

KATO DEFENDS RICE TRADE POLICY IN SPECIAL STATEMENT

OW110539 Tokyo KYODO in English 0406 GMT 11 Sep 86

[Text] Tokyo, Sep 11 (KYODO)--Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries Minister Mutsuki Kato defended Japan's rice trade policy Thursday, saying the grain is the backbone of the nation's agriculture.

"Japan's rice trade system is sanctioned by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and I believe the U.S. Government will carefully deal with the issue," he said in a statement.

Kato issued the special statement after the U.S. Rice Millers' Association (RMA) filed a complaint against Japan's rice import restrictions.

"Rice is the main staple of the Japanese people and the backbone of Japanese agriculture," the Cabinet minister said. He added that rice paddies have played an important role in maintaining the country's landscape and natural beauty and have been closely tied to its traditional culture.

Hiroshi Ishikawa, vice minister of agriculture, forestry, and fisheries, told a news conference that Japan will explain its rice policy during an agricultural trade meeting which opens in Washington September 23.

Ministry officials and representatives of farmers' organizations reacted strongly toward the RMA action, filed with the U.S. trade representative office Wednesday.

They called the RMA action a "very political move with an eye on U.S. off-year elections" in November, and expressed hope that the U.S. Government will turn down the complaint in view of the importance of rice in Japanese agriculture.

The U.S. association asked the trade representative to take retaliatory measures against Japan if it fails to remove the import curbs. It said the Japanese restrictions violate General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade rules prohibiting unfair trade practices.

Ministry officials and agricultural representatives also expressed concern that the U.S. trade complaint may add to growing calls in Japan that the

government should review its food control system, under which Japan controls imports of rice.

Manufacturers of rice crackers and other rice products said the RMA action may open the way for the import of low-priced rice grown in California.

As long as the government maintains the rice import restrictions, the use of high-priced rice grown domestically will continue, manufacturers said.

Fuyo Otomo, chairman of the National Federation of Regional Womens Organizations, said Japan should promote self-supply of rice, although the fact that the price of domestically grown rice is about 10 times as high as the world price is "problematical."

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ECONOMIC

BRIEFS

MONITOR OF SEMICONDUCTOR PRICES--Tokyo, 22 Sep (KYODO)--The Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) Monday set up an office for monitoring prices of semiconductors as a means of preventing their exports to the United States at less than fair value. The office, of the Machinery and Information Industries Bureau, will collect information on production costs from semiconductor makers and check export prices every 3 months. If extremely low prices are evident, the office will ask makers to rectify them. It will keep a watch over seven types of semiconductors covered by the recently concluded Japan-U.S. agreement on trade in semiconductors, including dynamic random access memory (DRAM) and erasable programmable read only memory (EPROM) chips. [Text] [Tokyo KYODO in English 1309 GMT 22 Sep 86] /9604

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